This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

8

HARVARD COLLEGE
LIBRARY

BOUGHT FROM THE

AMEY RICHMOND SHELDON
FUND

The Germantown Meetinghouse in 1809.

A HISTORY

OF

THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN

IN

EUROPE AND AMERICA

BY

MARTIN GROVE BRUMBAUGH, A. M., PH. D.

Professor of Pedagogy in the University of Pennsylvania, President of Juniata College, Member of the Pennsylvania Historical Society, and of the Pennsylvania German Society

---

MOUNT MORRIS, ILL.
BRETHREN PUBLISHING HOUSE
1899

C 55.5.25
✓

HARVARD
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY
NOV 3 1943

Holden fund

COPYRIGHT, 1899,
BY
MARTIN GROVE BRUMBAUGH.

TO

BROTHER ABRAHAM H. CASSEL,

GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON

OF

CHRISTOPHER SOWER

AND

GREAT-GREAT-GRANDSON OF

PETER BECKER,

WHOSE LIFE-LONG DEVOTION TO THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH, AND WHOSE UNEQUALED COLLECTION OF ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPTS MAKE THIS VOLUME POSSIBLE,

THIS WORK IS DEDICATED AS A TOKEN OF LOVE AND GRATITUDE.

INTRODUCTION.

To write the history of a religious movement, following it through all of its stages of growth, is no ordinary task, though all the data pertaining to the movement be easy of access. But when the material has to be taken from the forest, so to speak, and then reduced to shape, so as to make it an object of beauty, as well as the source of reliable information, the task becomes the more difficult. In quest of the valuable information here for the first time brought together in one volume, the author has been compelled to travel an unbeaten path. For the data the old libraries of Europe and America have been searched. Years have been spent collecting, arranging and simplifying this material so as to place it within the comprehension of the ordinary reader, and now this volume is given to the public in a form that must commend itself to the judgment of every student of modern church history.

Though made up of facts relating wholly to the experiences and incidents of past generations, its style is such as to render it as interesting and fascinating as a romance. This feature of the book we think will be pleasing to all classes of readers.

Concerning the competency of Brother Brumbaugh to produce a volume of such rare qualities, one has only to glance at his busy life. He was born in Hunt-

ingdon County, Pennsylvania, in 1862, graduated at the age of nineteen in the Normal English Course at Juniata College, and in the Scientific Course in 1885. In the same institution he taught from 1882 to 1884.

He was County Superintendent of Public Instruction in Huntingdon County from 1884 to 1890. He has lectured at Teachers' Meetings and Institutes in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Massachusetts, Delaware, Maryland, Ohio, Louisiana, Indiana and Kentucky. His election to the ministry in the Brethren church occurred in 1891.

He was a graduate student at Harvard University in 1891–1892; took the A. M. degree at the University of Pennsylvania in 1893, and the Ph. D. degree in 1894. In this institution he became Professor of Pedagogy in 1895, which position he still holds. Since 1894 he has also been President of Juniata College.

He is widely known as the author of the "Juniata Bible Lectures," "The Stories of Pennsylvania" (with Dr. Walton), and the "Liberty Bell Leaflets." As a teacher he has had an extensive experience, having taught in every grade, from the country school to the University.

The summer of 1896 was spent in Europe studying educational work, gathering material for his book, and looking up the data of the Brethren church in that part of Germany where our ancient Brethren inaugurated their reformatory movement. History with him has been a favorite as well as a delightful study, espe-

cially that relating to the ancient Brethren. On this subject he has delivered a number of lectures at the Annual Meeting and elsewhere. Those who heard these lectures urged him to publish them for the benefit of others, and this desire upon the part of those who heard him led up to the preparation of this volume.

We take pleasure in recommending the work, feeling confident that it contains the most complete early history of the Brethren church yet written, and we are certain that it will fill a long felt want both in the church and out of it. We pray that the same Spirit that so directed our ancient Brethren as to lead them into the way of all truth, will so overrule this book for good, as to make it the means of strengthening those of like precious faith, and leading others to accept the doctrine the work is meant to emphasize.

J. H. MOORE.

PREFACE.

HISTORY at best is a beggarly gleaner in a field where Death has gathered a bountiful harvest. If one could lift the veil and see the past: see the pious Eight in 1708 at Schwarzenau; the storm-swept voyagers of 1719 and 1729; the solemn procession to the Wissahickon on the doubly memorable Christmas day of 1723; see the first baptismal scene in a wilderness; see the sainted twenty-three at the first love feast the same day; see the welcome given Alexander Mack in 1729 at Germantown; see the ordination of the first Elder, Martin Urner, in America; see the rapid spread of the people of God over this land during the many years that followed; see the gradual transformation to the church of to-day; and learn from the actors themselves at each stage of development the wonderful story of the church's growth, the duty of recording it would be a rapturous pleasure, not unlike that which seized the holy spirit of John on Patmos.

But Death has sealed the lips that could have spoken and stilled the hand that might have written Fragments alone remain. These are scattered over a wide area in two continents. Bro. Abraham H. Cassel, of Harleysville, Pa., three score years ago, began the great task of collecting these fragments, and, with

a zeal that knew no quenching, and an industry that has almost cost him his sight and his hearing, has clearly earned the right to be called the Historian of the church. To him the writer of these lines turned some years ago to urge him to prepare a history of the people he loves and among whom he worships.

Alas! life-long devotion has dulled his ear and dimmed his eye. He cannot do the work. It fell upon me as a sacred duty to make actual what his energy and industry made possible. The task was undertaken. The old manuscripts were translated, their facts tabulated, and the results are herein set forth.

Perhaps no religious sect is so little understood and so persistently misrepresented as the German Baptist Brethren. Their name, their belief, their history, all are unknown to the general reader and even to the scholar who fails to consult ultimate sources. It is of course not necessary to notice the malicious misstatements of prejudiced and bigoted zealots. But the statements of scholars who faithfully endeavor to state the truth are so wide of the mark that it is necessary to sound a note of warning.

Among the many examples of incorrect historic statements I quote one, selected at random, from "*Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, in the olden Time*," an extended work in three large volumes, by John F. Watson, Member of the Historical Societies of Pennsylvania, New York, and Massachusetts. The

work was published in 1857. It is generally regarded as a standard work. On page 23, Vol. II, Watson says, "In 1709 the Tunkards from Germany and Holland emigrated to Pennsylvania, and settled *first* at Germantown. Their first collected meetings were held in the *log house* in front of their present stone church in Beggarstown. Alexander Mack was then their principal leader. He was a very rich miller in Cresheim, gave all his property in common, and came with eight or ten to Germantown in 1708. He died old; and his son Alexander lived to be near ninety-one years of age."

All of which is current history and valuable save that no Tunkards emigrated from either Holland or Germany in 1708; nor did they hold their first meetings in the *log house;* nor was Alexander Mack then their principal leader, since they did not then exist in America; nor did he come with eight or ten to Germantown in 1709; nor did he die old; nor did his son Alexander live "to be near ninety-one years of age."

In belief they have been even more widely misrepresented. They have been confused with the Pietists, the Mennonites, the Ephrata community of Seventh Day Baptists, the Amish, the Wissahickon Hermits, the Separatists, the New Born, and all sorts of new Anabaptist societies and sects. It is to be hoped that this volume will dispel all such errors and show the Brethren in their true light, a body of Christian people with a definite body of doctrine based upon the

New Testament, and a consistent and faithful observance of the same.

In name, too, the church has been strangely and variously designated. They are known as *Dompelaers*, because they immerse with a forward action, or "duck" under the water; as *Anabaptists*, because they belong to that larger class of people who reject and deny the validity of infant baptism; as *Taufers*, *Tunkers*, *Tunkards*, *Dunkers*, *Dunkards*, and *Dippers*, because of their belief in immersion; as *Wittgenstein* or *Schwarzenau Baptists*, in reference to their origin; as *Germantown Baptists*, in reference to the place of their first organization in America; and as *Brethren*, largely among themselves, as a designation of their intimate fellowship. They are best known as *Taufers*. They should never be called *Dunkards*, which word is an English vulgarism with absolutely no meaning. The church has officially declared itself the *German Baptist Brethren Church*, and as such it is properly named, since this designation most accurately figures the character of the Brotherhood. In this volume the writer frequently uses the word *Taufer* in order to link the history of the church with records in Germany and in Colonial America in which they are so designated.

No history of the Brethren has ever been attempted. Our past is to us a sealed record. We have no historical precedent for any part of our present practice. We are misrepresented and misunderstood not alone because we have no formulated Creed but also because

we have no record of our growth and our beginning. We are not always consistent in our own practices for the reason that we do not know what our early practice was. There has resulted much confusion and many needless decisions in our church polity from the absence of definite records as to what our forefathers did. Next to the Bible the most valuable possession of the church is a careful record of its own activities. Our policy as a church needs the fibre and strength that comes from a clear perspective into a well-known past. Were we able to line up the whole church from the beginning and study our development from a simple beginning to the present we could all the more clearly indicate the lines of development yet to be.

No one should attend Annual Meeting—an institution that dates as early as 1742—and participate in the making of history for Christ's people, who is ignorant of the past of these same people. The Bible and the practice of the church should be honored, and no new decision advocated or announced until these essential records have been consulted. Then would we have not only a consistent faith but also a consistent practice in Zion.

At the outset it seemed that the work would be limited by the scarcity of data. But exhaustive search has developed such a wealth of matter that only a part can be presented here. With the task of selection before the author, he has deemed it best to confine his treatise largely to the early and least

known and perhaps most important epochs in the growth of the church. The later history is well enough preserved in the minutes of congregations, the records of Annual and District Meetings and in the literature of the Brotherhood. It is to be regretted that more care is not shown in preserving carefully and depositing in some central place complete records of all congregational activities. The date of organization, election of officers, erection of houses of worship, time and attendants at love feasts, records of baptisms, of deaths and of marriage, together with action on Missions, Colleges, and Sunday Schools should be carefully noted at length by the proper officer in each congregation. The elder in charge should see that this is carefully done.

The aim has been not merely to give a relatively complete record of the early church, but to use this record as a defense of primitive Christianity as believed, interpreted and practiced by the church of the German Baptist Brethren. Without in any way perverting history the writer has aimed at making history defend doctrine and indicate future activities by the church.

The collating of this material has been a labor of increasing interest. To find a new fact, to uncover a lost record, to gain an additional link in the chain of events has been the sustaining power in many a weary hour's search. It is to be regretted that, with one exception, no member has aided in the work, al-

though repeated appeals were made to some, whose withholding will not enrich and whose giving would not have impoverished. The one exception is Brother Abraham H. Cassel. With the true spirit of the scholar and philanthropist he gave fully of his wealth of knowledge and to him only is indebtedness acknowledged.

The available data have all been carefully collated. There may be omissions due to the absence of data, which the reader will much regret. There may be here and there valuable matter in print and in manuscript which should be incorporated in the text. If the owners of such matter will inform the author of the same it will be gratefully acknowledged and used to further advance the interest of the church.

With the prayerful desire that this volume may quicken our love for the church; that it may be the means, under God's blessing, of doing some good for the cause of the Master it is now given to the public.

MARTIN GROVE BRUMBAUGH.

Philadelphia, Pa., 1899.

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—INFLUENCES DOMINATING GERMANY AT THE OPENING OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY,.... 1-11

CHAPTER II.—THE PIETISTIC PATHFINDERS, ... 12-28

Philip Jacob Spener — August Hermann Francke — Gottfried Arnold — Jeremias Felbinger—Ernst Christoph Hochmann.

CHAPTER III.—THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY, ... 29-44

Account of Organization.

CHAPTER IV.—BRANCHES OF THE MOTHER CONGREGATION IN GERMANY, ... 45-53

CHAPTER V.—A LIST OF THE MEMBERS WHO JOINED THE CHURCH IN EUROPE, ... 54-70

CHAPTER VI.—THE LEADERS IN GERMANY, ... 71-154

Alexander Mack — John Naas — Christian Libe — Stephen Koch — Abraham Duboy — John Henry Kalckglasser — John Hildebrand — Andreas Frey — Other German Pioneers.

CHAPTER VII.—THE GERMANTOWN CONGREGATION, 155-190

The Poor Book of the Congregation — Deacons and Deaconesses.

CHAPTER VIII.—SOME LEADERS IN COLONIAL AMERICA, ... 191-288

Peter Becker — The Second Alexander Mack — The Two Martin Urners.

CHAPTER IX.—COLONIAL CONGREGATIONS, ... 289–337

The Coventry Congregation—Great Swamp Congregation—Oley Congregation—Conestoga Congregation—Michael Frantz—Michael Pfautz—Jacob Sontag—Members who Joined the Church under the Eldership of Michael Frantz—White Oak Congregation—Great Swatara Congregation—Little Swatara Congregation—Northkill Congregation—Codorus Congregation — Little Conewago Congregation — Conewago Congregation — Bermudian Congregation — Stony Creek Congregation.

CHAPTER X.—THE TWO CHRISTOPHER SOWERS,..... 338–437

The Elder Sower — Trials of Early German Emigrants—The Second Christopher Sower, Elder of the Brethren Church—Hymn by Christopher Sower.

CHAPTER XI. — THE EPHRATA SOCIETY, AND ITS RELATION TO THE GERMAN BAPTIST BRETHREN,. 438–470

CHAPTER XII. — ORIGIN AND EARLY HISTORY OF ANNUAL MEETING,..... 471–508

The First Synod — The Second Synod — The Third Synod — Where Held before 1830 — Committees — Council Meeting.

CHAPTER XIII.—ON THE DOCTRINE AND GROWTH OF THE CHURCH,..... 509–559

The Philadelphia Church and Elder Peter Keyser—Elder George Miller—Churches in Maryland and the South—Early Meetings in Baltimore—Germantown Love Feasts — Change in the Lord's Supper — Peter Leibert — Two Unknown Volumes—Catharine Hummer—As Others See Us—Influence of Emigration—Some Pioneer Events—Far Western Brethren—Christopher Sower on Going to Law—On War—On Changes in the Ordinances — The Dress Question — The Mode of Baptism—Baptism in a Tub—A Sad Separation—The *Davidische Psalterspiel*—Unwritten Chapters—On Doctrine.

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The Germantown Meetinghouse in 1899, ... *Frontispiece.*
Scene near Hochmann's Home—Schwarzenau, ... 24
Typical Schwarzenau Home,..... 27
The Valley of the Eder—near Schwarzenau,..... 31
Schwarzenau,..... 37
House and Barn Combined—Schwarzenau,..... 41
Hochmann's Confession of Faith, ... 75, 77, 79, 81
Signatures of Alexander Mack and Others,..... 90, 91
Gravestone of Alexander Mack, ... 101
Autograph of Jacob Wilhelm Naas,..... 108
Autograph of John Naas,..... 124
Autograph of John Hildebrand,..... 147
Title Page of Andreas Frey's Declaration, ... 151
Wissahickon Creek, Place of First Baptism,..... 157
Residence of Minister at Germantown,..... 163
Meetinghouse of the Brethren, Germantown, Pa.,..... 167
Election of Deacon at Germantown, 1761, ... 175
Ordination of Deacon at Germantown, 1766,..... 176
Election of a Deaconess at Germantown, 1769, ... 177
The Germantown Burying Ground,..... 185
Original Stone over Peter Becker's Grave, ... 196
Stone over Peter Becker's Grave Erected by A. H. Cassel, ... 199
Autograph of Alexander Mack, ... 213
Letter of Alexander Mack to Valentine Mack, ... 221, 223
Letter of Alexander Mack to John Price, ... 229, 231, 233
Remarkable Events at Germantown in 1791, ... 241
Remarkable Events in Germantown in 1792, ... 244
Letter of Alexander Mack to John Price,..... 247
Alexander Mack's Birthday Hymn in 1800,..... 259
Alexander Mack's Birthday Hymn in 1801,..... 260
Hymn Composed by Alexander Mack Dec. 27, 1801,..... 261
Alexander Mack's Last Birthday Hymn, 1802,..... 262
Gravestones of A. Mack, his Son Alexander and Son's Wife,. 269
Alexander Mack's Epitaph in his own Handwriting,..... 271
Gravestone of Martin Urner, Sr.,..... 277
Entrance to the Coventry Burying Ground, ... 281
Autograph of Martin Urner,..... 283

Gravestone of Martin Urner, Jr., ... 285
Coventry Brethren Church, ... 291
Title Page of Michael Frantz's Book, ... 302
Autograph of Michael Pfautz, ... 305
Autograph of Jacob Stoll, ... 315
Title Page of Jacob Stoll's Book, ... 316
Autograph of Jacob Donner, ... 322
Autograph of Daniel Letterman, ... 326
Baptism Scene from an Old Print (1770), ... 333
Laasphe, Germany, Home of Christopher Sower, ... 339
Castle Witgenstein, Home of Prince Henry, ... 343
Church near Laasphe, Germany, where the Sowers Worshiped, 347
Residence of Christopher Sower, ... 355
Sower Printing Press, ... 357
Title Page of First German Hymn Book, ... 359
First German Newspaper in America, ... 361, 363, 365, 367
Title Page of Saur Bible, 1743, ... 371
Anvil on which Matrices were Forged for Type, ... 373
Desk and Bench used in Christopher Dock's School, ... 389
Autograph of George Schreiber, ... 392
Articles from Sower's Apothecary Shop, ... 395
Autograph of Christopher Sower, Jr., and Catharina Sower, ... 397
Memorial Tablet of Christopher Sower, ... 405
Autograph of Abrm. H. Cassel, ... 408
The Antiquarian, A. H. Cassel, and the Three Sower Bibles, .. 409
Methacton Meetinghouse, Burial Place of Elder C. Sower, ... 423
Gravestone of Christopher Sower, ... 427
Grave of Peter Miller, ... 447
Autograph of Peter Miller, ... 449
Brother House [Bethania] at Ephrata, ... 451
Interior of Meetinghouse [Saal] at Ephrata, ... 453
Graveyard, Sisters' House and Meetinghouse at Ephrata, ... 457
House of Conrad Beissel at Ephrata, ... 461
Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1726, ... 480
Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1780, ... 493, 495, 497, 499
Record of Monthly Council, ... 507
Autograph of Peter Keyser, ... 510
Autograph of Peter Leibert, ... 516
Grave of Peter Leibert, ... 517
Autograph of Catharina Hummerin, ... 522

A History of the Brethren.

CHAPTER I.—Influences Dominating Germany at the Opening of the Eighteenth Century.

From the days of the Luther Reformation Germany became the centre of religious agitation. After a thousand years of unchecked control the Catholic Church found in the spirit of Protestantism a worthy rival. This influence may, indeed, be traced to the eleventh century and to the bold, defiant, scholastic leader, Peter Abelard[1] of Paris, pupil of the celebrated William of Champeaux. It was Abelard's defense of human reason as opposed to church dogma that led to the creation of European Universities and the development of Scholasticism. From this sprang the Luther Reformation and the scholarly isolation of Erasmus.[2]

These men agreed in one essential principle—religion must be an appeal to the individual human reason. In due course of time this principle led to a general upheaval of religious organizations. The supremacy of the Catholic church in Germany was

(1) For an account of Abelard see Denifle's *Die Universitäten des Mittelalters*; also Compayré's *Abelard, and the Rise of Mediæval Universities.*

(2) For the relation of Erasmus to the Reformation see *Works of Erasmus*, by Le Clerc, 10 vols., 1703.

gone; and, as the monks declared, "Luther had hatched the egg that Erasmus had laid."

When Germany found itself disenthralled, all sorts of religious organizations began to appear. From the unyielding creed of Catholicism to the utter abrogation of all creed and all organization, the whole gamut of doctrine ran its unchecked way. Each faction became intolerant of all others and persecution, plunder, and war followed in swift succession to compel all dissenters to the acceptance of now this, and now another form of worship. The outcome of all this was the fateful thirty years' war (1618–1648), which involved all continental Europe.

The valley of the Rhine became the theatre of war, and the pious Germans suffered the horrors of continual persecution, rapine, and murder. The Treaty of Westphalia (1648), sometimes called the Treaty of Münster, ended the bloody struggle and leagued the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed Churches into a new persecuting force. Other wars, notably the Wars of Frederick the Great, lasting from 1620 to 1688, followed by the French wars, made the Rhine country from 1618 to 1748, a continuous field of carnage. This experience of generations made these Germans a war-weary and a war-hating people.

The three state churches denied to all others the right to exist in the German Empire.[1] Whoever

(1) Seidensticker's *The First German Emigration to America.*

found his religious convictions running counter to these; whose faith was of a different sort; who interpreted his Bible in another sense; who worshiped God in his own way; found life a burden and a cross. Church and State vied in their zeal to persecute dissenters. The harmless Mennonites,[1] the God-fearing Schwenkfelders, the Pietists,[2] and the Mystics were alike reviled, persecuted, and regarded as fit subjects for insane asylums or prisons. What happened to these in the closing years of the seventeenth century became also the fate of the Taufers in the opening third of the eighteenth century.

These people were the most ardent product of the reformation. They did not stop on middle ground with Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli. They carried the spirit of protestation to the acceptance of the maxim: "No exercise of force in religion." This was fundamental in the belief and practice of the Taufers or German Baptist Church. From this they were led logically to define conclusions at variance with the state churches,—conclusions for which they suffered all forms of irreligious persecution, but which they heroically wrought into a new and unique body of truth.

Let us see what this principle of non-coercion gave the church.

---

(1) See D. K. Cassel's *History of the Mennonites.*

(2) See Sachse's *Pietists of Colonial Pennsylvania*, and Pennypacker's *Historical and Biographical Sketches.*

(1) To compel anyone to join the church of Christ is an exercise of force. Children are compelled, with no show of reason or desire on their part, to join the church. Hence infant baptism is at variance with their faith. The church is at the outset logically arrayed against infant-baptism.

(2) To compel by law an individual to take an oath is not only contrary to the teaching of Jesus, but it is a violation of the sacred rights of a people whose religious tenets decry all force. Hence the church is at the outset logically opposed to taking the oath.

(3) War is a violent interference with the rights of others. It imposes unwilling burdens upon people. It is, therefore, wrong, and the church at the outset is logically opposed to war.

(4) The injunction of Christ is one thing, the power of prince or ecclesiastic another. The might of the state has no right to interfere with the religious belief of the individual. Hence at the outset, the church logically opposed state religions, sustained freedom of conscience, and exalted allegiance to God above allegiance to rulers.

(5) In matters of faith each individual is free to follow his own convictions. Hence they resented all persecution and themselves never persecuted a single soul.

Bullinger, their great reviler, says they taught "that

the government shall and may not assume control of questions of religion or faith."(1)

Upon these God-fearing, conscientious people fell the full power of church and state. Their sufferings were awful. The flaming torch of persecution nightly lighted the valley of the Rhine for a hundred miles. The agonized prayers of burning saints were heard on every side. Sturdy, devout, God-strengthened men and women these, who heroically suffered and died for the religion they loved.(2) There were no cowards in the procession that marched through howling mobs to the stake.

All these dissenters were called Anabaptists. In England they were called Quakers.(3) These Anabaptists were broken into many sects, depending largely upon their interpretation of the Scriptures and their remove from Ecclesiasticism and civic control. The Taufers were among the latest sects to arise. The leaders in this movement were already Protestant in faith and in confession. They knew all the sects already organized, but found in none the sum of doctrines their study of the Bible compelled them to believe. They created a new denomination because they found nowhere a body of believers fully living

(1) Compare the *Constitution of Pennsylvania, Art. 1, Sec. 3:* "No human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the right of conscience." Read Whittier's *Quaker Alumni.*

(2) See Pennypacker's *The Teutonic Race:* an address delivered on Oct. 6, 1891, before the German Society of Philadelphia.

(3) Hortensius' *Histoire des Anabaptistes*, Paris, 1695.

the Christ life. When they separated from prevailing creeds they were no doubt tempted to go to the extreme of denying all organized functions. Had they done so they would have found themselves a part of that great religion-in-life movement known as *Pietism*, that swept the Palatine and drew into its ranks the most remarkable aggregation of religious zealots produced in modern times.

That the founders of the church of the Taufers or German Baptist Brethren did fraternize with some of these Pietists is true. That any of the founders were Pietists is not true. It is also untrue that they had any part or parcel in the flagrant excesses that characterized the Anabaptists of Münster.

It may be well to consider briefly the Pietistic groups in Germany at this time. They were all dissenters. They denied all creeds and opposed all congregational activity, teaching that religion is a life, and that it is shown only by the life of the individual, that all external forms and ceremonies are extraneous and useless, and even sinful.

The only really accurate account of them is in Latin text—*Gerardi Croesi Historia Quakeriana*. This work of Gerard Croese was published in Amsterdam in 1696. It was, therefore, at the founding of the German Baptist Brethren at Schwarzenau in 1708 a new and authentic work. It deals with the Quakers, their relation to the Pietists, and analyzes the Pietists into three distinct classes:

"Moreover there were in *Germany*, as it were, three sorts of Pietists:(1) One consists of those who sought, and pressed nothing else, but sincere Religion and true Piety: and the greatest part of these are of the learned and better sort of men through Saxony and all Germany.

"Another sort of them cried that the church is much corrupted. They loved Piety; but they were such as on the other hand stagger not a little in the Faith and True Religion, and these some are commonly less moderate and more violent in celebrating their assemblies, etc.

"The third sort of them may be called *Behmists* or *Teutonists*. These call back, as it were, *Jacob Behman*,(2) the shoemaker of Garlingen in Silesia, from the dead. They advocated the opinions of Boehme [or Behman] and denounced the errors that had been falsely laid upon him, and ascribed to him; yea, and horrid and hellish blasphemy, and exalted his opinions as worthy of all esteem and glory."

The Anabaptists of Münster were an offshoot of the second and third classes as outlined by Croese. They were given to the wildest excesses. Their leaders were illiterate and fanatical. They at various times advocated such doctrines as the following:

(*a*) Man can unquestionably earn salvation by virtuous conduct and by his own efforts. Christ is rather our father and teacher than our redeemer.

(*b*) This was soon followed by the declaration of Hans Denk, "God is love,—love supremely exemplified in Jesus of Nazareth, Jesus never stumbled, never

---

(1) Croese's Quakeriana, Vol. III, p. 555 *et seq*. A copy of the second Latin edition, which is very rare, is in the library of the writer. Gerard Croese, a Protestant divine, was born at Amsterdam in 1642. He studied at Leyden, went to Smyrna, returned, became pastor at Alblasserdam, near Dort, where he died in 1710.

(2) They are also known as Gichtelians.

lost *unity*. He is the forerunner of all the saved, hence all must be saved by Jesus."

(*c*) Ludwig Hätzer denied the divinity of Christ. His records were burned by Ambrosius Blawrer.

(*d*) Hans Kautz of Bockenheim taught that Jesus is our Savior inasmuch as he left footprints in which we may tread and attain unto salvation. Whoever taught more than this, he declared, made Jesus an idol.

The followers of these men were poor people who rejected all worship, lived in solitary places in groups and were called the Gardener Brethren (*Gärtnerbrüder*) To them Christ was a teacher of Christian life but not the fulfiller of the law. Many of them were burned because they would not recant. If they did recant they were beheaded and their bodies burned. A beautiful girl of sixteen refused to recant. The executioner took her to the place where horses were watered, drowned her and then burned her body.

They held that only the flesh sinned, not the spirit. Christ restored sinful flesh and the whole man was rendered free. They insisted that Christ took nothing from His mother at birth. But in Him the pure word was made flesh.

They differed greatly on conduct and practice. Some regarded infant baptism as useless; others, as an abomination. Some demanded a community of goods; others, the duty of mutual help; some segregated and held it unchristian to keep the Sabbath; others declared it culpable to follow after singularities.

Some refused to take oath or to bear arms, holding the oath to be sinful and forbidden and the taking of life under any circumstances sinful. This brought upon them the stern opposition of the state, especially in such cities as Strasburg where once a year the citizens, the sole defense of the city, bound themselves by an oath (*Bürgereid*) of allegiance on the annual swearing day (*Schwörtag*). Still others were daft on the marriage question, like the tanner, Claus Frei, who held that the only valid marriage was a marriage in the spirit. He left his lawful wife and traveled with another woman whom he called his "only spiritual wedded sister."(1)

They became intoxicated with license of speech and traversed Germany as wandering apostles, living a whitherless and purposeless life. When they met they saluted with the words, "The peace of the Lord be with you," to which the answer was, "We have the same peace." Among these fanatics was the leader of the insurrection at Münster in 1534, Bernhard Rottman. He undertook to reform the administration of the Holy Sacrament.

"He broke white bread into a large wide dish; poured wine thereon; and, after he had spoken the words of the Lord at the Last Supper, he told those who desired the Sacrament to take and eat. Hence he was called *Stuten Bernhard*, for white bread is called stuten in their tongue."(2)

(1) Röhrich, Vol. II, pp. 93 and 101.

(2) Dorpius, *Wahrhafftige Historie wie das Evangelium zu Münster angefangen*, sheet C. For a fuller account of these Münster Anabaptists see Leopold Ranke's *History of the Reformation in Germany*, Vol. III, London, 1847.

Enough has been cited to prove that Pietism, as Gerard Croese, a contemporary, understood it had few of the elements that the founders of the church of the German Baptist Brethren accepted. The better element in the Pietistic movement, Croese's first class, did have some of the doctrines of the Brethren. But they had also many things which Alexander Mack could not accept. Prominent among the Pietists who occupied a somewhat moderate ground were Philip Jacob Spener; Johann Heinrich Horbius, his brother-in-law; Ernst Christoph Hochmann,[1] who was an intimate friend of Alexander Mack; August Hermann Francke; Gottfried Arnold; Dr. Johann Jacob Fabricius of Helmstadt; Dr. J. W. Peterson, Johanna von Merlau, the woman of ecstatic visions; Jeremias Felbinger, and many others. These dissenters were for the most part earnest, moderate, and devout without being foolish. From them the founders of the German Baptist Brethren learned much, and their writings were cherished and republished frequently on the press of Saur at Germantown and the press of the Ephrata Society.[2] It will be seen that the new congregation at Schwarzenau studied all denominations, knew all shades of faith, and then turned from Ecclesiasticism and Pietism alike to carve out a new

(1) See pages 16-26.

(2) For a complete list of these works consult Hildeburn's *The Issues of the Press of Pennsylvania from 1685–1784*, also, Seidensticker's *The First Century of German Printing in America*.

and distinct order of faith and practice. They were debtors to all, and followers of none.

In the light of two centuries it is significant to note that what they wrought endures; what they rejected is for the most part a memory for the historian. It seems almost just to assert that they were divinely guided in selecting from a myriad of widely varying practices and interpretations those few and simple elements of the Christian faith and practice which are increasingly potential in shaping the religious thought and life of the Christian world.

CHAPTER II.—The Pietistic Pathfinders.

Bro. Abraham Cassel is fond of speaking of some of the German Pietists as pathfinders for the Brethren. If we understand the term to mean men who broke away from dogmatic theology and exalted individual experience as the test of Christian excellence, he is correct. If by the term we mean men whose teachings were instrumental in forming the congregation we have only a half truth. If by the term we mean men who shaped the purpose and directed the organization we are wholly wrong. Neither Catholic, nor Protestant, nor Pietist, did that. The church was the joint product of Bible study and protest against all existing forms of worship.

Among the Pietists who did yearn for a better day and a purer faith combined with a holy life was

PHILIP JACOB SPENER.

He was born in Alsace, January 13, 1635, and died in Berlin, February 5, 1705. He advocated a system of personal and practical piety and taught that "Christianity is first of all life, and the strongest proof of the truth of its doctrine is to be found in the religious experience of the believer." Hence to Spener only persons inspired by the Holy Ghost could understand

the Scriptures.[1] His influence upon Alexander Mack was remote and indirect.

AUGUST HERMANN FRANCKE.

He was born in Lübeck, March 23, 1663, and died June 8, 1727. He is chiefly known as the founder of a charitable institution at Halle for the education of poor children and orphans, which early became widely known for its good work. It is known as "das Hallische Waisenhaus." The missionary department of this orphanage sent Rev. Henry Melchior Mühlenberg, the founder of the American Lutheran Church, to Pennsylvania. Francke was a successful pastor at Glaucha, a suburb of Halle. In 1694 he became Professor of Oriental Languages, and, later, of Theology at Halle University.[2] From Halle the Bible was issued in the German Language. Numerous editions were published, one of which, the 34th, is the basis of the text of the Saur Bible of Germantown in 1743.

GOTTFRIED ARNOLD,

A Lutheran clergyman and well known writer in Mystic Theology, born Sept. 5, 1666, at Annaberg, Saxony, was the author of numerous works that influenced the thought of the early Brethren. He was a Theological student at Wittenberg and a follower of

(1) A corresponding movement headed by Michael Molinos occurred in the Catholic Church. The followers of Molinos were called Quietists. See Croese's *Historia Quakeriana*, Book II, p. 348.

(2) Halle University was founded by Frederic I, King of Prussia, in 1694.

Spener. He was Professor of Church History at Giessen, and, after successive pastorates at Werben and Berleberg, was made court historian to Frederic I, founder of Halle University. He wrote a widely-known history of religious beliefs,—*Unparteiische Kirchen und Ketzer-Historie*. This Impartial History of the Church and of Heretics, published in 1699, and a later work, *Sophia*, or the *Mysteries of Divine Worship*,[1] largely influenced the more mystical part of the German emigrants to America; notably the founder of the Ephrata Society, Conrad Beissel, who was from 1724 to 1728 an Elder in the *German Baptist Brethren Church*. A third work of Arnold's, *A Genuine Portraiture of the Primitive Christians*, was much prized by the founders of the church of the German Baptist Brethren.[2] From it Alexander Mack in *A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God* quotes on page 18, edition of 1888, to show that infant baptism does not date beyond the second century after the birth of Christ; and again on the question of laying the ban upon such as eat blood Alexander Mack quotes from the same work of Arnold. (See above edition, p. 54.) Arnold advocated most of the doctrines held by Hochmann and adopted by Mack; such as non-swearing, trine immersion, baptism of adults only, feet-washing, the salutation, anointing, and non-resistance.

(1) Published in 1702.

(2) For a more extended account of Arnold and his writings see any standard church history and the leading encyclopedias.

JEREMIAS FELBINGER.

Alexander Mack in discussing immersion[1] says, "The command to baptize properly signifies, according to the Greek word, *to immerse*, and it has been so translated by Jeremias Felbinger, and many others." Felbinger was born in Brieg, Silesia, in 1616. He was fifty years earlier than Arnold and largely influenced the latter in his interpretation of Scriptures. He was Superintendent of Schools at Coszlin in Pomerania, and later he formed associations by letter with Dr. Grossen, Superintendent at Colberg, Dr. Pelargo and others. Later at Amsterdam he was so poor that, notwithstanding his great learning, he gained a meager livelihood as a proof reader in a large printing establishment. As early as 1660 he translated the New Testament literally into German. He was conversant with Holland, Latin, Greek, German, and Hebrew, and wrote or translated into these different languages. His principal work, so far as relates to the Brethren, is his *Christian Hand Book* or *Christliches Handbüchlein.*[2] The volume in seven chapters treats of Man's Apostasy and Reconciliation; of the Admission of Immature Children into the Visible Church; of Holy Baptism; of Church Discipline; of Feet Washing as an ordinance of the Church; of the Holy Supper; and of the Problem of the Oath.

(1) *Rites and Ordinances*, Edition 1888, p. 23.

(2) A third edition, 12 mo., 129 pp., was published by Samuel Sower, son of the second Christopher Sower, at Baltimore, in 1799.

He shows that the Kingdom of Grace established by Christ reconciles all who will to be reconciled; that children are saved by the death of Christ and do not need to be baptized; that baptism means immersion; that feet-washing is commanded in the Holy Scriptures; and fails in discussing the Holy Supper to distinguish between the Lord's Supper and the Communion. He argues against the Oath; and, in general, touches most of the fundamental doctrines of the Church of the Brethren.

ERNST CHRISTOPH HOCHMANN.

More than all others combined did Ernst Christoph Hochmann influence the mind and conduct of the founder of the Church of the German Baptist Brethren. Mack and Hochmann were friends. They held much in common. They were companions in missionary enterprises. They lived in the same religious refuge—Schwarzenau. Hochmann preached what Mack practiced. The Church of the German Baptist Brethren owes to him a debt of gratitude surpassed only by the devotion due to his inspired and heroic friend—Alexander Mack. For this reason it seems wise to consider his career somewhat in detail. A careful study of his life and his teachings will unquestionably reveal the atmosphere in which the spirit of Mack was stimulated and guided in the organization of a separate and unique band of believers. It will also show how far from the truth is such an eminent

authority as Dr. Benjamin Rush, who asserts that the Tunkers are a branch of the Mennonites.[1]

Ernst Christoph Hochmann von Hochenau was born about 1670.[2] He was the son of a custom's officer of Sachsen-Lauenberg. His father was of a distinguished noble family, who, in his later years, settled at Nürnberg, where as a citizen and as Secretary of War (*Kriegs-Schreiber*) he passed his closing years.

The elder brother of Ernst, Heinrich (born 1661), was his guardian and a man of prominence, representing his native city, Lauenberg, as deputy at the Imperial Court. He was also Imperial Councillor in 1702 and Gothic Privy-Councillor. Leopold I., the Emperor, consulted him on many public and private affairs, and raised him to the rank of *Freiherr*.

Under the influence and prestige of his brother, Ernst was, as early as 1698, urged to become Attorney of the City of Nürnberg. Ernst refused saying he served a greater master, namely, the Lord Jesus, the King of kings. Irritated by his obstinacy his brother gave up all hope for his advance and cast him adrift as a fantastic man.

The young man was brought up in the Lutheran faith. His mother and his god-fathers were, however, Catholics. At an early age he went to Halle to hear

(1) *Manners of the Pennsylvania Dutch*, Dr. Benjamin Rush, edited by Dr. Rupp.

(2) Seidensticker in *First Century of German Printing in America* says 1661.

the celebrated Thomasius[1] lecture on law. At Halle Hochmann was "awakened" by August Hermann Francke, a pupil of Spener. In 1693 he was arrested and expelled from Halle because of his testimony for Jesus Christ and his strictures upon the state religions. The incident that confirmed his position and made him a pronounced separatist is the following: One day he was out hunting. When breaking through a hedge, the hilt of his sword was caught in a twig in such a manner that sword and twig formed a cross. This incident confirmed his previous scruples against hunting. He threw away his sword-belt and sword saying, "Now, henceforth never again! I renounce all worldly pleasures; and surrender wholly and decisively to God and Jesus Christ, firmly resolved to risk life and body, good and blood for Christ's sake. I shall fear neither fire nor swords, neither gallows nor wheel for Christ's sake."[2]

In 1697, Hochmann came to Giessen and became associated with Gottfried Arnold and other like-minded ones, notably Dippel. Here Hochmann was drawn into a new religious order and became more emphatic in his hostility to all the creed-centered churches of the State. The next year he removed to Frankfurt. At this time his life was rich in piety. He wrote to a friend at Giessen, "I gladly confess that

(1) Thomasius in 1690, was expelled from Leipsic University on account of his pietistic teachings. He then removed to Halle.

(2) M. Goebel, *Christliches Leben*, Vol. II, p. 511.

if Divine Wisdom grants me to feel an inflow of the great glory of those who sit with Christ on His throne, then my spirit will be to such a degree inspired to continue the fight, that if I had a thousand lives, I would willingly risk them for Him. Alas! it is but a trifle to suffer in this world," etc.

While at Frankfurt he issued an earnest exhortation in an open letter to the Jews, urging them to seek conversion in view of the immediate second advent of the Lord. In the Synagogue he delivered such earnest and impassioned prayers that the Jews fell to weeping and moaning, and some took Hochmann to be a Jew. Many of them followed him, and for their approaching conversion they sang with him a hymn he composed for the occasion—"*Wenn endlich, etc.*"[1]

Hochmann, however, soon learned that the conversion of the Jews was the hardest of all works of Christian charity.[2] Gichtel in 1702 wrote: "The dear Hochmann will at last come to know himself. Good intentions often deceive us. Without the spirit of God we cannot accomplish anything before the appointed time. I have also labored to convert the Jews and I know that God's time is different from our own."

(1) *Freylinghausen Gesangbuch*, p. 1346.

(2) He did make a powerful impression on many of them. A foreign Jew who happened to hear Hochmann at this time met him in Prague years later. He requested Hochmann to grant him a favor. Hochmann consented, whereupon the Jew gave him a bag of gold. Hochmann took it and then begged the Jew to grant him a favor. The Jew agreed and Hochmann returned the bag of gold saying: "Give it generously and to the glory of God to the poor and wretched of your own people."

Then he turned his whole attention to the destruction of the organized sectarian churches. He regarded them as Babel, and labored to gather the believing ones into closer unity. If he did not absolutely insist upon the awakened ones leaving the church, he yet always preferred that they should, from a most pronounced inward desire, sever their connection completely from the state churches. He warned all those that had gone forth from Babel not to return to it.

In 1709, when just out of prison at Nürnberg, he wrote to some lukewarm ones in the Palatine, "Do not blame me, beloved Brethren and Sisters, that I with such great and loving zeal wish to draw you away from human organizations, and instead, urge you to go to the Almighty God himself. I am certain that you will not find any peace for your soul until you shall have both outwardly and inwardly done with Babel, and surrender yourselves to Jesus. Therefore, give yourselves up entirely to Jesus, my King, and you will learn in deed and in truth that he is your all-sufficient Redeemer."

Driven from Frankfurt in 1798 by persecution, he found refuge in Hesse-Cassel; and the next year in Wittgenstein. Here he lived a solitary, ascetic life, renounced all earthly callings, and even endeavored to fast in the desert for forty days, after the manner of our Lord. His pious zeal resulted in the "awakening" of the Count and the Countess von Wittgenstein, and especially of the Countess Widow, Hedwig Sophia

von Berleberg. This aroused the bitter enmity of the latter's brother, Count Rudolf zur Lippe-Bracke. The count in July, 1700, had Hochmann beaten almost to death and thrown into prison. Soon thereafter he was released from prison and expelled or driven from the city in a most disgraceful manner. He was obliged to run for hours in advance of a horseman who followed close upon his heels and lashed him into greater haste. He was in no wise subdued, for we find him immediately after this, August 5, 1700, addressing to Count August at Berlin these words, "The Lord had heretofore strengthened me so powerfully in my ways and in my persecutions, that I am resolved to endure even the most horrible and humiliating treatment without any resentment or bitterness."

From 1700 to 1711 Hochmann is literally a wandering spirit, homeless and persecuted. He wandered into almost every part of Northern and Western Germany, preaching, protesting, and suffering imprisonment. On these journeys he was accompanied by pious friends who aided in this religious revival. Among these co-workers were Alexander Mack, Christian Erb, Count zur Lippe-Biesterfeld. In houses, farm-buildings, and the open air these devout men prayed, exhorted, sang, and witnessed for a holier life, a closer fellowship and spiritual union with the Holy Trinity. For these bold and unlawful assaults upon the state churches he was imprisoned at Detmold, 1702; at Hanover, 1703; at Nürnberg, 1709–10;

at Halle, 1711; and also at Mannheim; in the Bergish district; and in other places. He was as frequently scourged; so that it was a common saying of his that "to suffer a sound thrashing for Jesus' sake is of such frequent occurrence that I do not mind it any more."

On one occasion as he was sitting lonely and prayerful by the wayside, he noticed a worldly man and his valet riding by. Hochmann at once began to exhort the man to repentance. This so angered the man that he ordered his valet to whip Hochmann. The servant obeyed and at the end of the cruel thrashing Hochmann thanked the valet kindly, whereupon the servant was so humiliated that he humbly begged Hochmann to forgive him.

The imprisonment of 1702 at Castle Detmold by Count zur Lippe-Detmold is to the church of the German Baptist Brethren especially important. His persecutor refused to release him until he wrote out his confession of faith. This Hochmann did, and that confession[1] next to the Bible was the most important influence in the genesis of the church.

The subsequent history of this remarkable man is a continuous record of arrests, imprisonments, persecutions, preachings, and prayers.

In the Bergish land occurred an incident typical of his career. A wild, drunken young fellow, a barber by trade, came to Hochmann's meeting at Gräfewrath

(1) For the influence of this confession and the original text, together with a literal translation, see pages 75-88.

in order to annoy this "Quaker-Devil." But Hochmann preached so powerfully that the man began to pray and on his way home he exclaimed, "Oh! what a wicked fool I have been. This man teaches the right way to God." The young man reformed, became a follower of Hochmann, and after his death, his poor widow found her richest comfort in hearing again and again of Hochmann and his friend Peter Lobach.[1]

In the midst of his trials his life-long friend, Dr. Johann Conrad Dippel, the famous separatist, then living in Holland, came to his aid. In a bitter satire he accused the Wesel ministers for sitting in a warm nest, living and posturing at ease in this world, and unfit to rise into heaven with Christ. He defended Hochmann, recites the story of his honorable ancestry, his own resolute refusal of state preferment for religion's sake, and concludes in these words: "He is walking on the path where God is to be found; while you, even in the best of your deeds, seem to be running ever farther away from him. If I am to judge you by your writing, you seem to be putting out your own eyes so as never to see his Light, his Savior and his Glory."[2]

This polemic only embittered the already unhappy career of Hochmann and hastened the date of his retirement to Schwarzenau.

---

(1) Peter Lobach was a member at Creyfelt who endured four years' imprisonment for becoming a member of the Brethren church.

(2) The letter in full is in Vol. II of Goebel's *Christliches Leben.*

At Schwarzenau in a valley, called the valley of "huts" or of "peace" to this day, Hochmann built a lonely little house. This hut of his was only a few paces in length and width. It had a kitchen and a sleeping room. He called it "Friedensburg." Here,

Scene near Hochmann's Home—Schwarzenau.

as a neighbor to Alexander Mack, they were in close communion, and "Friedensburg," no doubt, was the scene of many solemn conferences between these noted men. Here Hochmann was visited by representatives of all the non-state religions. But to none was he so intimately attached as to the little band of

refugees under Mack. They held much in common. Mack, however, was always anxious to organize a congregation in which the ordinances of God's house could be honored and observed. This led eventually to separation and painful regrets on the part of both. Like Erasmus in the days of Luther, Hochmann believed it better to reform from within, but Mack with a fearless spirit and a resolute will broke from every entangling alliance, accepted only the logic of events, relied upon God to guide him aright, and boldly organized a new congregation with the Bible as the rule and guide in all things.

From this separation Hochmann never rallied. His strongest supporters were now with the new congregation, and he spent his old days in solitude and sorrow. That Hochmann ever joined the church of the Brethren is an open question. It was currently reported that he was immersed at Schwarzenau by Alexander Mack, and the latter's son, long years afterwards, in writing a list of persons whom he knew and who had died before himself names "Brother Hochmann von Hochenau." In that list Bishop Mack does not call any one "Brother" who was not in the communion of the church of the German Baptist Brethren, unless this one example is an exception in a list of nearly two hundred names.

If not a member, he was at least so closely identified with the first members that he worshiped with them, endorsed their views, loved their fellowship,

and gave them as they gave him hearty and consistent aid and sympathy. Moreover he preached to the Brethren in Switzerland in the presence of Alexander Mack.

During his last days he was visited by the later Frau Taborin, then a child of seven years, her mother and sister, and an aunt and daughters. They were people of the nobility. The visit was unexpected, Hochmann ran to his servant saying, "Hast thou nothing in store that I might set before my dear guests?" The servant could bring only what the poor old man had,—a piece of gingerbread. When he was about to distribute this humble fare to his guests the Countess of Berleberg, who lived near by in the Castle Christianseck, sent cake and wine. This delighted Hochmann and he said, "Who will forbid us now to eat the Lord's Supper together? The Lord will surely be with us here according to his promise."

About a year later, 1721, the same young girl was in Schwarzenau, and learning that Hochmann was ill went with her mother to see him. When he was asked how he was he answered, "All vanishes, and nothing but Jesus remains light in the darkness." The next day he quietly passed away.

Weck, the collector of the *Liebesbrocken*, says, "Those that visited Hochmann in his last illness were much edified by his meek patience and loving discourse." He was especially fond of the hymns: "*Jesu, meine Zuversicht;*" "*Jesu, meiner Seelen Leben,*" by

Scriver; and "*Es glänzet der Christen inwendiges Leben*," by Richter.

Among Hochmann's devoted followers was Gerhard Tersteegen, who was converted by Hofmann, a follower of Hochmann. Tersteegen in 1736 visited the grave

Typical Schwarzenau Home.

of Hochmann at Schwarzenau and was much pained to find no stone to mark the place. He begged the dowager Countess to erect to his memory a monument, which she gladly consented to do provided Tersteegen would compose the inscription. This he did as follows:

"*Wie hoch ist nun der Mann, der hier ein Kindlein gar,*
Herzinnig, voller Lieb, doch auch voll Glaubens war,
Von Zions Königs Pracht er zeugte und drum litte;
Sein Geist flog endlich hin und hier zerfiel die Hütte."(1)

In 1785 Jung-Stilling wrote a description of Hochmann with which we must conclude the remarkable record of this friend of the truth: "Hochmann was dressed in a quiet, neat, and middle-class manner. He was of the most excellent character, as one can imagine. Everywhere he sought to teach,—whether he drew few people or many,—as opportunity offered, and taught them the purest mysticism; entire change of heart; perfect moral improvement; according to the example of Christ, perfect love of God and mankind; he spoke with astonishing enthusiasm and with indescribable fire, but free from bombastic and fanatic admixture, in the popular speech; and all he taught he animated in his own life. Master of his own heart and over his passions, humble and meek in the highest degree, he won the hearts of all who came in contact with him. In a word, '*Er war ein herrlicher Mann*,'—He was a rare man."(2)

(1) "How high is now the man, who here was like a child,
Sincere and full of love, yet also full of faith,
Of Zion's Kingdom's fame he spoke and for it suffered,
His spirit rose to it and here decays the hut."

(2) From *Theod. d. Verf. der Schwärmer*, 1785.

CHAPTER III.—The Mother Congregation in Germany.

1708 is a memorable year to the church of the German Baptist Brethren.

In that year at Schwarzenau, Province of Wittgenstein, in Hesse-Cassel, was enacted a remarkable scene. Eight pious souls, after careful prayer and prolonged study, relying only upon God and the Bible to guide them and their followers forever, walked slowly, solemnly and heroically from the house of Alexander Mack to the river Eder, which, like a silver thread, wound its way through the heart of a rich and varied landscape. Here the pious eight, in the early morning, surrounded by many curious witnesses, knelt in prayer, and then one of them led Alexander Mack into the water and immersed him three times, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Then Alexander Mack baptized the other seven, and these eight, perhaps the first to receive trine immersion in the history of the Protestant Church, then organized a new congregation. This new congregation chose one of their number, Alexander Mack, as their leader, and thus began the *Taufers* or *German Baptist Church*, as a separate and distinct organization. These eight members, the beginning of the church, were,—

1. Alexander Mack,
2. His Housekeeper,
3. A Widow Noethiger,
4. Andreas Bone,
5. John George Hoening,
6. Luke Vetter,
7. Kippinger,
8. A gunsmith, name unknown[1]

The list which is perhaps correct is given by Alexander Mack:[2]

1. Alexander Mack,
2. Anna Margaretta Mack,
3. Joanna Noethiger, or Bony,
4. Andrew Bony,
5. George Grebi,
6. Lucas Vetter,
7. John Kipping,
8. Joanna Kipping.

A third list, as given by Morgan Edwards, in "*Materials toward a History of the American Baptists*," published in 1770, Vol. I, Part IV, is as follows:

1. Alexander Mack,
2. His wife,
3. Joanna Nethegeim,
4. Andreas Bhoney,
5. George Grevy,
6. Lucas Fetter,
7. John Kipin,
8. His wife.

I will add one additional list, in the hope that a careful study of the names may lead to the proper rendering of the list of these first members.[3]

1. Alexander Mack,
2. Anna Margareta Mack,
3. Joanna Noetinger,
4. Alexander Bony,
5. George Grebe,
6. Luke Vetter,
7. John Kipping,
8. Joanna Kipping.

These eight members of the pioneer church were not a group of local enthusiasts, nor were they irre-

(1) List as given in *Chron. u. Ephrata*, p. 2.
(2) *A Plain View of the Rise and Progress of the House of God*, p. 9.
(3) *Genealogy of the Ulner Family*, p. 8.

The Valley of the Eder—near Schwarzenau.

ligious prior to the organization of the Taufers or Tunkers. Alexander Mack was from Schriesheim; Luke Vetter and George Grebi were from Hesse-Cassel; Andrew Bony was from Basle in Switzerland; and John Kipping was from Bareit in Würtemberg. They were refugees from intolerance and persecution, living temporarily in Wittgenstein, because it was at that time ruled by the mild and humane Count Heinrich von Wittgenstein.

They were all members of a Protestant church before 1708. Kipping was a Lutheran, Mack, Vetter, Bony, and Grebi were bred Presbyterians.[1] But they were by no means satisfied with the formalism and ritualism with which their spirits were oppressed. On the other hand they could not fully and unreservedly adopt the faith of the Pietists whose utter hatred for all church organization had led them to abandon the ordinances of the house of God. Rejecting on the one hand the creed of man, and on the other hand the abandonment of ordinances, they turned to the Bible for guidance. From God's Word they learned that ordinances were vital and creed unnecessary. Adopting the Bible as their rule and guide they organized a church with no creed, and with all the ordinances as taught by Jesus and his followers, as recorded in the New Testament. Their position is unique. They have no counterpart in history, save the mother

(1) The word "Presbyterian" in this connection means Reformed.

churches established by Paul and the disciples. They are Protestant without a formed Protestant creed. They are Pietists without the ultra church-in-the-spirit doctrines of Spener and his followers.

It was much in their favor as a body of believers to be able, as they were, to protest against formal religion and not go to the extreme of utter disorganization.

They believed Jesus had given them a creed and had likewise given them the necessary ordinances to keep the body of believers steadfast for him. Abandoning all precedents among denominations, studying zealously to know the right, living in an atmosphere that was heavy with religious agitation, surrounded by men of all faiths, and carving out of the confusion and turmoil of a turbulent age the simple faith and practice so precious to their followers, they proved, by their actions, that they were men of no mean training, and that they were possessed of a courage and heroism that mounts almost to the sublime.

ACCOUNT OF ORGANIZATION.

A most accurate account of the process of organization of the church of the German Baptist Brethren is given by Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, and Peter Becker, for many years the active Elder of the Germantown congregation. The account is here given in full. It was printed at Germantown, January

30th, 1774, by Alexander Mack, Jr., son of the founder.

It pleased the good God in his mercy, early in the beginning of this [last] century to support his "grace, that bringeth salvation, and which hath appeared to all men," by many a voice calling them to awake and repent, so that thereby many were aroused from the sleep and death of sin. These began to look around them for the truth and righteousness, as they are in Jesus, but had soon to see with sorrowful eyes the great decay (of true Christianity) almost in every place. From this lamentable state of things they were pressed to deliver many a faithful testimony of truth, and here and there private meetings were established besides the public church organization, in which newly-awakened souls sought their edification. Upon this the hearts of the rulers were embittered by an envious priesthood, and persecutions were commenced in various places, as in Switzerland, Würtemberg, the Palatinate, Hesse and other places.

To those persecuted and exiled persons the Lord pointed out a place of refuge, or a little "Pella," in the land of Wittgenstein, where at that time ruled a mild count, and where some pious countesses dwelt. Here liberty of conscience was granted at Schwarzenau, which is within a few miles of Berleberg. And from this cause, though Wittgenstein is a poor and rough country, many people, and those of various kinds, collected at Schwarzenau, and this place, which

had been but little esteemed, became so much changed that in a few years it became a place extensively known.

Those who were brought together there from the persecutions, though they were distinguished by different opinions, and also differed in manners and customs, were still, at first, all called Pietists, and they among themselves called each other brother. But very soon it appeared that the words of Christ, Matthew 18, where he says, "If thy brother shall trespass against thee, go and tell him his fault between thee and him alone," etc., could not be reduced to a proper Christian practice, because there was no regular order yet established in the church. Therefore some returned again to the religious denominations from which they had come out, because they would not be subjected to a more strict Christian discipline; and to others it appeared that the spiritual liberty was carried too far, which was thought to be more dangerous than the religious organizations they had left.

Under these circumstances, some felt themselves drawn powerfully to seek the footsteps of the primitive Christians, and desired earnestly to receive in faith the ordained testimonies of Jesus Christ according to their true value. At the same time, they were internally and strongly impressed with the necessity of the obedience of faith to a soul that desired to be saved. And this impression also led them at the time

to the mystery of water-baptism, which appeared unto them as a door into the church, which was what they so earnestly sought. Baptism, however, was spoken of among the Pietists in very different ways, and the manner in which it was sometimes spoken of caused pain to the hearts of those that loved the truth.

Schwarzenau.

Finally, in the year 1708, eight persons consented together to enter into a covenant of a good conscience with God, to take up all the commandments of Jesus Christ as an easy yoke, and thus to follow the Lord Jesus, their good and faithful shepherd, in joy and sorrow, as his true sheep, even unto a blessed end. These eight persons were as follows, namely, five

brethren and three sisters. The five brethren were, George Grebi, from Hesse-Cassel, the first; Lucas Vetter, likewise from Hessia, the second; the third was Alexander Mack, from the Palatinate of Schriesheim, between Mannheim and Heidelberg; the fourth was Andrew Bony, of Basle, in Switzerland; the fifth, John Kipping, from Bareit, in Würtemberg. The three sisters were, Joanna Noethiger, or Bony, the first; Anna Margaretha Mack, the second; and Joanna Kipping, the third.

These eight persons covenanted and united together as brethren and sisters into the covenant of the cross of Jesus Christ to form a church of Christian believers. And when they had found, in authentic histories, that the primitive Christians, in the first and second centuries, uniformly, according to the command of Christ, were planted into the death of Jesus Christ by a threefold immersion into the water-bath of holy baptism, they examined diligently the New Testament, and finding all perfectly harmonizing therewith, they were anxiously desirous to use the means appointed and practiced by Christ himself, and thus according to his own salutary counsel, go forward to the fulfillment of all righteousness.

Now the question arose, who should administer the work externally unto them? One of their number,[1] who was a leader and speaker of the Word in

(1) This, of course, was Mack himself.

their meetings, had visited, in sincere love, different congregations of Baptists (*Taufgesinnten*) in Germany, most of which admitted that holy baptism, when performed by an immersion in water and out of love to Christ, was indeed right; but they would also, besides this, maintain that pouring of a handful of water might also do very well, provided all else would be right.

The conscience, however, of them (the brethren) could not be satisfied with this. They therefore demanded of him, who led in preaching the Word, to immerse them, according to the example of the primitive and best Christians, upon their faith. But he, considering himself as unbaptized, required first to be baptized of some one of them before he should baptize another. So they concluded to unite in fasting and prayer, in order to obtain of Christ himself, the founder of all his ordinances, a direction and opening in this matter; for he who was requested to baptize the other, wanted to be baptized by the church of Christ, and the rest had the same desire.

In this their difficulty they were encouraged by the words of Christ, who has said so faithfully, "Where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them." With such confidence in the precious and sure promise of God, they, under fasting and prayer, cast lots to learn which of the four brethren should baptize that brother who so anxiously desired to be baptized by the church of Christ. They

mutually pledged their word that no one should ever divulge who among them had baptized first (according to the lot), in order to cut off all occasion of calling them after any man, because they had found that such foolishness had already been reproved by Paul in his writing to the Corinthians.

Being thus prepared, the Eight went out together one morning, in solitude, to a stream called the Eder, and the brother, upon whom the lot had fallen, baptized first that brother who desired to be baptized by the church of Christ, and when he was baptized, he baptized him by whom he had been baptized, and the remaining three brethren and three sisters. Thus these Eight were all baptized at an early hour of the morning.

And after all had come up out of the water, and had changed their garments, they were also at the same time made to rejoice with great inward joyfulness, and by grace they were deeply impressed with these significant words, "Be ye fruitful and multiply!" This occurred in the year above mentioned, 1708. But of the month of the year, or the day of the month or week, they have left no record.

After this the said eight persons were more and more powerfully strengthened in their obedience to the faith they had adopted, and were enabled to testify publicly in their meetings to the truth; and the Lord granted them his special grace, so that still more became obedient to the faith, and thus, within seven

years' time, namely to the year 1715, there was not only in Schwarzenau a large church, but, here and there in the Palatinate, there were lovers of the truth, and especially was this the case in Marienborn, where a church was gathered; for the church in the Palatinate was persecuted, and its members then came to Marienborn. And, when the church here became

House and Barn Combined—Schwarzenau.

large, it was also persecuted. Then those that were persecuted collected in Crefeld, where they found liberty under the king of Prussia.

Moreover the Lord called, during those seven years, several laborers, and sent them into his harvest, among whom were, John Henry Kalkleser, of Frankenthal; Christian Libe and Abraham Duboy, from

Ebstein; John Nasz and several others from Norten; Peter Becker, from Dillsheim. And to these were added also John Henry Trout and his brothers, Heinrich Holsapple, and Stephen Koch. The most of these came during those seven years to Crefeld; John Henry Kalkleser, however, and Abraham Duboy came to Schwarzenau; so did also George B. Gansz, from Umstatt, and Michael Eckerlin, from Strasburg.

But as they found favor with God and men on the one hand, so (on the other hand) there were also enemies of the truth, and there arose here and there persecutions for the Word's sake. There were those who suffered joyfully the spoiling of their goods, and others encountered bonds and imprisonment; some for a few weeks only, but others had to spend several years in prison. Christian Libe was some years fastened to a galley, and had to work the galling oar among malefactors; yet, by God's special providence, they were all delivered again with a good conscience.

Since the persecutions in the form of poverty, tribulation, and imprisonment, by which they were oppressed, made them only the more joyful, they were tried in another manner, by men of learning seeking to confound them with sharp disputations and subtle questions, of which the forty searching questions of Eberhard Ludwig Gruber, which, with their answers, will be annexed to this treatise, will sufficiently inform the reader.

About this time it was deemed expedient by the

church of the Lord in Schwarzenau to issue this publication, for the instruction of those pure-minded persons who are seeking after truth. And in this work every impartial reader, if he will read it with these introductory remarks, and without prejudice, can find what has been the cause and object of publishing it.[1]

But, inasmuch as those which then stood in the work of the Lord so cheerfully, and confessed the truth with great simplicity and honesty, have now all departed in peace, the desire has arisen in those churches which bear the same testimony here in America, and which have likewise given themselves to the Lord to walk in the truth, to have this simple testimony again published, more especially for the benefit of our dear youth, that they may have a plain and simple exposition of the truth in which they are instructed, and chiefly for the glory of God, who has so wonderfully preserved his truth even to these latter times.

This simple testimony of truth we commend to the good and wise God for protection, and, as an offering, we lay it at his feet of mercy. And may he give to the kind reader such a state of mind that will cause him to love the truth, and be acceptable to him, for it is only when we are in such a state that the truly divine Spirit who will enable us to prove all things

(1) This ends the original document, printed at Schwarzenau. What follows was written by Alexander Mack, Jr.

and hold fast that which is good and useful, will come forth and lead us as the lambs of Christ into all truth. Blessed is the man who does not oppose him, for he will bring all things to his remembrance whatsoever Jesus, the eternal truth, himself has said and taught.

Now, to that innocent Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world, be glory, honor and adoration in the congregation of the Firstborn in heaven and on earth, in the communion of the Father and the Holy Spirit. Amen.

N. B.—This simple record is taken in part from some papers which were left by two brethren, namely, Alexander Mack and Peter Becker, who have already, some considerable time ago, fallen asleep in the Lord; and, in part, some things were inserted which were related to me orally by my parents, as well as by some other brethren, who have also fallen asleep in the Lord, and who were themselves eye-witnesses of that which they have testified to us, to our consolation and encouragement. This he witnesseth who has written this the 30th of January, 1774, as one called to the marriage of the Lamb, and to that great supper prepared for that glorious marriage. [SIGNED] A. M.

CHAPTER IV.—Branches of the Mother Congregation in Germany.

The Schwarzenau congregation flourished from the beginning. Its missionary spirit led to the founding of a second congregation in the Marienborn district. After their persecutions in Marienborn this new congregation found refuge in Creyfelt in 1715. A third congregation was established at Epstein, and many members were living in Switzerland of whom we have no record.

The Schwarzenau congregation in 1720 was bitterly persecuted and its members under Alexander Mack fled for protection to Westervain in West Friesland.(1)

This congregation flourished for nine years in Friesland and then owing to the promising outlook in Pennsylvania the congregation chartered the ship Allen, James Craigie, Master,(2) and sailed July 7, 1729, from Rotterdam, touching at Cowes, for Pennsylvania. They landed at Philadelphia, and qualified Sept. 15, 1729. The entire list of members crossing the ocean in the Allen is fifty-nine families, one hundred and twenty-six souls.(3) Only those males above the age of sixteen were required to qualify.

(1) Sometimes called Surestervin, West Friesland; see Morgan Edward's *History of the Baptists in America*, Vol. I, Pt. IV.

(2) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, p. 18.

(3) See page 93.

By this qualification these Germans became subjects of the British Crown.

The following is the declaration to which these Brethren made affirmation:

"I, A. B., do solemnly & sincerely promise & declare that I will be true & faithful to King George the Second and do solemnly, sincerely and truly Profess Testifie and Declare, that I do from my Heart abhor, detest & renounce as impious & heretical that wicked Doctrine & Position that Princes Excommunicated or deprived by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome may be deposed or murthered by their subjects or any other Prelate, State, or Potentate hath or ought to have any power, whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Jurisdiction, Superiority, Pre-eminence, or Authority Ecclesiastical or Spiritual within the Realm of Great Britain or the Dominions thereunto belonging.

"I, A. B., do solemnly sincerely and truly acknowledge profess testify & declare that King George the Second is lawful & rightful King of the Realm of Great Britain & of all others his Dominions & Countries thereunto belonging, and I do solemnly & sincerely declare that I do believe the Person pretending to be Prince of Wales during the Life of the late King James, & since his Decease pretending to be taken upon himself the Stile and Title of King of England by the Name of James the Third, or of Scotland by the name of James the Eighth or the Stile and title of King of Great Britain hath not any right or title whatsoever to the crown of the Realm of Great Britain, nor any other the Dominions thereunto belonging. And I do renounce & refuse any Allegiance

or obedience to him & do solemnly promise, that I will be true and faithful, & bear true Allegiance to King George the Second & to him will be faithfull against all traitorous Conspiracies & attempts whatsoever which shall be made against his Person, Crown & Dignity, & I will doe my best Endeavours to disclose & make known to King George the Second & his Successors all Treasons and traiterous Conspiracies which I shall know to be made against him or any of them. And I will be true and faithfull to the succession of the Crown against him the said James & all other Persons whatsoever as the same is & stands settled by An Act Entitled An Act declaring the Rights & Liberties of the Subject, & settling the Succession of the Crown to the late Queen Anne & the Heirs of her Body being Protestants, and as the same by one other Act Entitled An Act for the further Limitation of the Crown & better securing the Rights & Liberties of the Subject is & stands Settled & Entailed after the Decease of the said late Queen, & for Default of Issue of the said late Queen to the late Princess Sophia Electoress & Duchess Dowager at Hanover the Heirs of Her Body being Protestants and all these things I do plainly & sincerely acknowledge promise & declare, according to these express words by me spoken, & according to the plain & common sense and understanding of the same Words, without any Equivocation, mental Evasion or Secret Reservation whatsoever. And I do make this Recognition, Acknowledgement, Renunciation & Promise heartily willingly and truly."(1)

At Marienborn John Naas was the Elder in charge.

(1) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series. Vol. XVII.

At Epstein Christian Libe was the Elder, assisted by Abraham DuBoy. These congregations soon withdrew to Creyfelt, where John Naas was the senior Elder and Christian Libe was second. Here, too, Peter Becker, who was, so far as we can learn, baptized at Epstein by Elder Libe, ministered to the congregation. Peter Becker was not an ordained Elder in Europe. He was, however, a man of great fervency in prayer, and the leader of the singing in the congregation. He was not a good speaker, and led a very quiet life, drawing many to him in love and sympathy. He organized the first emigration of members to America, and landed with a goodly number at Germantown in 1719. The Germantown members were, therefore, at the first a branch of the Creyfelt congregation.

In addition to the ministers named heretofore, should be added the following who joined the congregation before 1715: John Henry Kalkleser, of Frankenthal; John Henry Trout, Heinrich Holzapple, Stephen Koch, and others.

In this congregation at Creyfelt was a young minister by the name of Häcker (Hager) who was a warm friend of Peter Becker. Young Häcker was a scholarly man, and full of holy zeal. He became acquainted with a young woman whose father was a merchant and, although he had been baptized into the Creyfelt fold, he still preached to the Mennonites, for which service the Mennonites paid him 800 guilders. This

father was glad to have young Häcker as a son-in-law, and in due course of time he officiated at the marriage of Häcker and his daughter. She was not a member of the church. This marriage raised a storm in the Creyfelt congregation. Some said the members objected because Häcker married out of the church; others, because he married contrary to 1 Cor. 7. Whatever the cause Elder Libe and four single Brethren rose up and excommunicated Häcker,[1] though John Naas and others wished only to suspend him from the communion. The effect of this action, which seems, after all, not to hinge upon the question of marriage outside the church, but upon the right to excommunicate a member, was disastrous to the cause. Elder John Naas said that above 100 persons who were convinced of believer's baptism refused to join the church on account of this controversy. Other excommunications followed until the church was so badly wrecked that part came to America and others fell away.

Häcker took the matter to heart and he fell sick and died. Peter Becker was steadfastly his friend, and to the end gave him spiritual comfort. Thus the spirit of intolerance and strife was early sown among the members, and Peter Becker with a few followers[2] in 1719 came to America. The controversy was carried along. It saddened the voyage, and kept the

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 3 and 249.
(2) Goebel says "40 families, 200 persons."

congregation of Germantown from being organized for four years.

Creyfelt was a Mecca for all sorts of persecuted persons and the Creyfelt congregation had many remarkable experiences. In 1714 six members of the reformed congregation at Solingen became concerned on the question of infant-baptism, its lawfulness and its necessity. This resulted in their joining the Creyfelt congregation through holy baptism. These six were Wilhelm Grahe, Jacob Grahe, Luther Stetius, Johann Lobach, Wilhelm Kneppers and Johann Henkels. The youngest, Wilhelm Grahe, was twenty-one years old. They were immersed in running water in the river Wupper.

This raised a great storm. The synods of the Berg Province and the Reformed general synod heard of this with deep regret. The secular government called these six Brethren as well as the landlord of Wilhelm Grahe, Johann Carl, before the judge, who was a Catholic. On February 26, 1717, they were taken to Düsseldorf and thrown into prison.[1] Here they had to endure great hardship, digging trenches, wheeling dirt, performing all sorts of menial services.[2] This imprisonment lasted four years. In their misery they were visited by Stephen Koch who gave them spiritual consolation. They became quite sick in prison

(1) The prison of Gülch.

(2) For a full account of their sufferings see Goebel's *Christliches Leben*, Vol. III. p. 238 *et seq.*

and in their suffering they were also visited by Gosen Gojen and Jacob Wilhelm Naas.

This Gosen Gojen was a Mennonite preacher of the Creyfelt congregation. He afterwards became convinced that immersion was the only Christian baptism, and in September, 1724, he was immersed in the Rhine after the Apostolic manner.

The Jacob Wilhelm Naas named above was a son of John Naas, Elder at Creyfelt, and a member of the congregation of Taufers or Brethren.

This activity of the Creyfelt congregation became the subject of ecclesiastic censure: *ad acta Montensis, 144*, held at Solingen, "The Synod General must learn with regret that several heretofore reformed church members have been by Dompelaers, living at Creyfelt, rebaptized in rivers and other running waters."

Acta Synod General, 1719, 21 ad 44, "The preachers of the Meuro classe have received the confession of faith of the so-called Dompelaers staying at Creyfelt, and they have sent their 'remonstration' to his gracious Majesty the King of Prussia. However, this *Fratres Meursanae Synodi* report with pleasure that these Dompelaers, who have been so injurious to our church, have betaken themselves away by water and are said to have sailed to Pennsylvania." This is the official ecclesiastical farewell to the pious members who came with Peter Becker in 1719.

The report of these Brethren from an unprejudiced

ruler, shows that they were the type of men whom posterity can well love.

"The Count's administrator at Schwarzenau could well send in an official report in 1720 to the Imperial Treasurer von Emmerish at Wetzlar and say: 'that for a while pious people have been living here, of whom we never heard anything evil. They kept themselves very quiet and retired and no man ever made any complaint of them. Lately forty families of them, about 200 persons, have moved out of the country."[1]

Finally, in 1733, John Naas removed to America. Here Alexander Mack reconciled Elder Naas, and he organized the congregation at Amwell, New Jersey. After that Christian Libe was in full charge at Creyfelt. The congregation dwindled away and finally went to ruin. Libe became a merchant and married as Häcker had done, and in violation of his own rules, outside the congregation.

This was the last organized activity in Europe until the recent mission work in Sweden and Denmark.

And since all the leaders of the church in Europe came to America, excepting Elder Christian Libe, it has seemed best to treat of the details of activity in Europe under the chapter on "The *Leaders in Pioneer Days*," the reader is referred to that topic for fuller discussion of the work in Germany.

After an exhaustive search I have been able to secure a fairly large list of members in the European

(1) Goebel's *Christliches Leben*. Vol. III. p. 776.

congregations. This list is by no means complete; but it is vastly more complete than any list yet given to the public, and will not be without value and interest to those whose hearts warm towards the first members of the church of the Brethren and whose spirits are athirst for the truth. I have thought it best to give in connection with the name such facts as I have been able to glean concerning each one. The sources of this information are so diverse and, in many cases, inaccessible, that I have cited none. The facts, however, have in each case ample justification.

CHAPTER V.—A List of the Members Who Joined the Church in Europe.

Albertus, Brother, lived at Falckner's Swamp, Pa., in 1724. On the first great visitation of the Germantown members to all their Brethren, begun October 23, 1724, they stopped at Brother Albertus' house and held a communion or love-feast service. Doubtless came to America with Peter Becker.

*Amwigh (Amweg), Leonard.

*Amwigh, Magdalena, wife of Leonard.

*Amwigh, John Michael. Son of above and came with them.

Arian, Peter, a Hollander, who joined the church in West Friesland. Did not come to America.

Augustin, a brother in Westervain known to Alexander Mack.

*Bayly, Nicholas.

Becker, Peter, first minister in America. See page 191.

Becker, Dorothea, wife of Peter.

*Becker, Valentine.

*Becker, Stinkee, wife of Valentine.

*Bender (Benter), Hisbert.

*Bender, Catharine, wife of Hisbert.

Bender, a sister at Creyfelt for whom John Naas had the highest regard.

*Bony, Andrew, one of the original eight at Schwarz-

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

enau, went with Mack to West Friesland, thence to Pennsylvania with him in 1729. Died October 8, 1741.

*Bony, Joanna Margaret, wife of Andrew, and formerly the Widow Noethiger, one of the original number at Schwarzenau, afterwards married Andrew Bony and accompanied him to America in 1729.

*Bosserdt, (Possert) Jacob, Sr., came to America with his sons and second wife in 1729, with Alexander Mack.

*Bosserdt, Jacob, Jr., son of Jacob Sr.

*Bosserdt, John, son of Jacob, Sr.

Bosserdt, Susanna, first wife of Jacob, Sr., died in Germany.

*Bosserdt, Marilis, second wife of Jacob, Sr.

*Bosserdt, Eva, wife of one of the sons.

*Bradford, Matthew.

*Brunner, Joseph.

*Campbin, Maria Magdalena.

Cate, Den, one of the Hollanders, who joined the church in West Friesland. The spelling may be wrong. It may be Sister Kate ——(?), mentioned by Alexander Mack, Jr.

Clemens, a brother beloved at Creyfelt in 1733.

Charitas, a sister at Schwarzenau, whose death is noted by Alexander Mack, Jr.

Christina, a sister who joined the church at Schwarzenau. She was taken from the foundlings' home, never married and "triumphantly passed away at Schwarzenau."

*Contee, Hans.

---

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

*Crist, John Martin, came with Mack and was perhaps a brother of Anna.

*Crist, Anna Catherine, sister(?) of John Martin Crist.

*Cropp (Kropf, Crolf) Daniel,
*Cropp, Jacob,
*Cropp, Andrew,
*Cropp, Christian,
*Cropp, Christina,
*Cropp, Christian, Jr.

This family of six came with Alexander Mack in 1729. Father, mother, and four sons. They may be the same as the modern family of Krupp, in the eastern part of Pennsylvania. Daniel was sick on the voyage. Jacob was also sick on arrival at Philadelphia.

*Dieter, George.

*Diehl (Dihll), Alexander.

Du Boy, Abraham, a minister of note. See page 144.

*Durster, Philip Michael.

Eckerlin, Michael. See page 349 for a discussion of the Eckerlin family.

Eckerlin, his wife.

Eckerlin, Samuel.

Eckerlin, Israel.

Eckerlin, Imanuel.

Eckerlin, Daniel, a friend of Alexander Mack, Jr.

Eckerlin, Gabriel.

*Eley (Ellen, Elee), Ulrich.

*Eley, Eve Tabatha, wife of Ulrich.

Eicher, Daniel. Whether the Eichers joined in Europe or Pennsylvania is not known. On the first missionary journey, 1724, the third love-feast was held at Martin Urner's on the Schuylkill; "two persons" were baptized. This may have been Eicher and his wife. Daniel was a leading man in the church, and two of his daughters were the first women to put themselves under Beissel's care. They

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

left home for Ephrata in 1726. They were received and a house built for them on the Mill Creek in Lebanon County, close to Beissel's (*Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 24, 34, 45). He died at a ripe old age, February 1, 1773. His son Daniel, also a member, died February 1, 1773. His youngest daughter, Naomi, lived in Ephrata with her sisters, was a writer of spiritual hymns of considerable merit. She died September 14, 1757, aged 33 years and 3 months.

Eicher, wife of Daniel. Died at Ephrata in 1737.

Eicher, Anna, daughter of Daniel. She and Maria entered, in 1726, the celibate life under Beissel. Died at Ephrata in 1748. She is said to have proposed marriage to Conrad Beissel and upon his refusal preferred scandalous charges against him. These she finally confessed were untrue. She soon after married and died the evening of her marriage.

Eicher, Maria, daughter of Daniel. She, with Anna, removed to Ephrata in 1732. She was Prioress of the Sister house. She was a woman of strong character, and died Dec. 24, 1784, aged 74 years.

*Fiersler, Philip Michael.

*Fiersler, Maria Catherine, came to America with her husband, Philip.

Fischer, Johanna, lived and died at Altoona in Germany.

*Flickinger (Fluckiger) Johannes. He was unmarried and died in America.

---

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

Frantz, Michael, an active member in Pennsylvania. Died December, 1747.

Frantz, ——, wife of Michael.

Frantz, ——, daughter of Michael, and a member on statement of Alexander Mack, Jr.

Frey, Andreas, first Elder of the Falckner's Swamp congregation, appointed March 8, 1728, by Conrad Beissel. Congregation then had eight members. Five more joined in May. He was one of the three trustees of Zinzendorf's Church in the Spirit in 1742. He was, moreover, a man of moral energy and Christian rectitude.

Fritz, Daniel, a member of the congregation at Schwarzenau.

Fritz, Lisz, wife of Daniel, also a member of the congregation at Schwarzenau.

*Galler, Samuel.

*Galler, Dorothea, wife of Samuel.

Gansz, George Balser, attended first love feast in America. He was much beloved. Came from Umstatt, joined church in Germany before 1715.

Gansz, Angenes Joanna, wife of Balser. Attended first love feast in America.

Gomerry (Gommere), John, came to America in 1719 with Peter Becker. In his house in Germantown the first love feast was held, Christmas eve, 1723. See page 156.

Gomerry, Anna, wife of John, a faithful and zealous sister.

Gorgas, ——, a widow.

Gosen, Gojen, a Mennonite preacher at Creyfelt, who

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

was in September, 1724, rebaptized by immersion in the river Rhine.

Grau (Grahe), William, married a daughter of John Naas by his first wife, member at Creyfelt. He joined with five others in 1714, when he was 21 years of age. For this he and his companions were thrown into the Gülch prison for four years.

Grau, ——, wife of William, daughter of John Naas.

Grau, Jacob, joined the Creyfelt congregation in 1714, and with his brother Wilhelm was set to hard work in Gülch prison.

Gramo, ——, a member at Creyfelt to whom John Naas sends greeting from Germantown in 1733.

Grebi, (Gräben), George, known to Alexander Mack, Jr. Attended a great meeting in Holland and debated against Alexander Mack on the tendency to form too close a congregational unit and too rigid a sect. Grebi plead for a more liberal spirit and was content simply to be against ritualism. Mack urged the need of a bond of union, based upon the Bible's teachings. He was one of the original eight at Schwarzenau.

Grebi, wife of George.

*Gundi (Gunde), Hans, a member from Creyfelt, who was living in Germantown in 1733.

Häcker (Hager, Hoecker), Henry. In 1733 he lived in Germantown in half a house; the other half was occupied by Valentine Mack and wife. With Häcker, Alexander Mack, Jr., made his home. It was here that A. Mack, Jr., hospita-

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

bly entertained Stephen Koch. Henry Häcker ended his days as a solitary, *i. e.*, unmarried, at Ephrata.

Häcker (Hoecker), ——, a member at Creyfelt, whose marriage was the occasion of the first division in the church.

Häcker, ——, wife of above, also a member at Creyfelt. Her father was a Mennonite preacher.

Häcker.

Hageman, John Henry, lived at Falckner's Swamp. An important meeting was held in his house in 1728. (*Ephrata Chronicles*, p. 41.)

*Hammer, Rinehart.

Hammer, Susan.

Hendrickson, Dirck, a Hollander who joined the church in West Friesland.

Henkle, Johann, joined the Creyfelt congregation in 1714. He suffered for this by imprisonment in Gülch prison for four years.

*Hinschle (Hisle), Valentine Gerhart, same, no doubt, as Hissle, as given next below.

*Hissle (Hisle), John, arrived in Philadelphia too sick to leave vessel at once.

Hissle, Susannah Catrina.

Hildebrand, Johannis, attended first love feast in America. Father-in-law of Valentine Mack. A preacher of some note, a man of good repute, who with his son-in-law and Henry Kalckglässer joined the Ephrata Society. He died in 1765.

Hildebrand, Maria, wife of John. Attended first love feast in America. Died, 1757.

Hirsch, ——, a single brother in Schwarzenau.

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

*Hoffart, Christian.
*Hoffart, Anna Margaret.
*Hoffart, Jorick.
*Hoffart, Anna Margaret, Jr.
*Hopbach, John Jacob.
*Hopbach, Magdalena.
*Holtzstein, Heinrich.
Hoening, John George.
Holzapple (Holzapfel), Henry, attended first love feast in America, joined at Creyfelt before 1715.
Holzapple, Lena.
Hochmann, Ernst Christian, claimed as a Brother by Alexander Mack, Jr. He died at Schwarzenau 1723. See page 26.
Hoheim, ——, a brother living in Altoona in Germany, whose death is noted by Alexander Mack, Jr.
Hubert, Jerrich. John Naas mentions him as a member at Creyfelt in 1733.
Huisinga, Jacob Dircks, joined the church in West Friesland. Was a Hollander.
*Iller, Conrad.
*Iller, Margaret.
*Iller, Maria.
*Iller, Elizabeth.
Jans, Albert, a Hollander who joined the church in West Friesland.
*Kalckglässer (Kalklieser, Kalcklöser), John Henry, a minister of note in the early church. He was born in Frankenthal, Germany, and was called to the ministry in Schwarzenau before 1715.

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

He ended his days at Ephrata. Of him it is said, he was not rebaptized on joining the Ephrata Society, and likewise, later on, some of the Ephrata Society were admitted to the Tunker Church without rebaptism (*Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 52). In 1835 Henry Klackglässer was the oldest minister of the Germantown congregation, and had baptized many. He died February 29, 1748, aged 52 years. "He led in his doings and life a lowly, retired, fervent course; what he experienced gave he never unto day. His death was also as if he only his outer shell had cast off."—*From Register of the Ephrata Community.*

Kalckglässer, Anna Margareta, wife of John Henry. She died at Ephrata in 1757.

Kalckglässer, ——.

Kalckglässer, ——.

Kalckglässer, Emanuel, known personally by Alexander Mack, Jr., who records his death.

Kalckglässer, Katharine, wife of Emanuel.

*Kalckglässer, Christophel. Alexander Mack, Jr., records his death in America.

Kalckglässer, Marie Liesel, wife of Christophel.

*Kalkglässer, Jacob.

*Kalckglässer, Agnes.

Kalb (Kolb, Kulp, Culp), Conrad.

*Kalb, Hans Gasper.

*Kalb (Kulp), Anna Phillis.

Kempfer, Johannis. He attended first love feast in America. He was both edifying as a speaker and gifted in prayer. Was proposed as min-

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

ister over Conestoga congregation, but did not go, Beissel being in charge.

Kebinger, Will, was a member in Holland. He served sentence in the prison of Gülch for his religion.

Kitzinger, Johannis, probably joined church in Creyfelt, but did not come to America.

Kitzinger, Johanna, wife of Johannis.

*Kitzintander, Anna Barbara.

*Kitzintander, Christian.

*Kipping, Johannis, one of the original eight at Schwarzenau.

*Kipping, Johanna, wife of above, and with him joined at Schwarzenau in 1708.

*Kipping, Sivilla.

*Kipping, Anna.

*Kissle (Kessell), John Jacob.

*Kissle, Hans Urick.

*Kissle, Christina Margaret.

*Kissle, Anna Barbara.

Kiebel, Hans Jacob.

*Klauser, Anna Maria.

*Klauser, Hans George.

*Knipper (Knepper), Veronica, wife of Wilhelmus.

*Knipper (Knepper), Wilhelmus, joined the Creyfelt congregation in 1714. Served four years in Gülch prison for his religion's sake.

*Knight, John Jacob.

*Knecht, John Jacob.

Kocker, Peterde, a Hollander, converted by Alexander Mack, a member in West Friesland.

Kocker, Yellis de, one of the twelve Hollanders

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

known to Alexander Mack, Jr., as members in West Friesland.

Kocker, Michael de, a Hollander, joined the West Friesland congregation.

*Koch, Hans Georg, a friend of Alexander Mack, and a faithful, active member.

Koch, ——, a faithful member, wife of Hans Georg.

Koch, Stephen. See page 133.

Koch, Jacob, attended first love feast in America. He married in America. His wife was Anna Elizabeth. She and their daughter Catharine, who died single, were also members.

Koster, John Peter.

*Kress, John Martin.

*Krolf, John Christian.

*Latrine, Anna Marie.

Libe (Liebi, Levy), Christian. See page 131.

Lingen, ——, a member at Creyfelt in 1733.

*Lisley (Leslie), David.

*Lisley, Peter. His death is noted by Alexander Mack, Jr.

*Lisley, Jacob.

*Lisley, Anna Catharine.

*Lisley, Maryles.

*Liskes, Paul.

*Lipkip (Lipekip), Paul.

Loback (Laubach), John, member of the congregation at Creyfelt as late as 1739. Was immersed in the river Wupper in 1714. Served four years imprisonment in Gülch prison for his religion. He was a warm friend of Stephen

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

Koch with whom he regularly corresponded after Koch came to America.

Löser, ——, a member known to Alexander Mack, Jr. His mother also was a member.

Löser, ——, first wife of the above.

Löser, ——, second wife of above.

Mack, Alexander, founder of the church, came to America in 1729. See page 71.

*Mack, Anna Margaretha, wife of founder, one of the original eight. Died August 11, 1758.

*Mack, Alexander, Jr., a noted writer and preacher. See page 211.

*Mack, John Valentine, son of founder. Died 1755.

*Mack, Johannes, son of founder.

Mack, wife of Valentine and daughter of John Hildebrand.

Mack, wife of John.

Mack, wife of Alexander, Jr.

*Matten, Christopher.

*Matler, Christian.

Martin, Christopher. His death is noted by Alexander Mack, Jr., who calls him "Brother Christopher Martin."

Martin, ——, wife of above, a member in Germany.

Martin, ——, mother of Christopher, and a member in Germany.

*Meinterfeer, (Mickinterfer), Johannis.

*Meinterfeer, Phronik.

Miller, ——, a member at Creyfelt as late as 1733.

*Mittledorff, Heinrich Peter.

Mumertin, Maria, a member at Creyfelt in 1733.

Naas, John. See page 100.

---

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

Naas, first wife of above, died in Creyfelt.

Naas, Margaret, second wife of above, came to America in 1733.

Naas, daughter of John, by his first wife. Married William Grau at Creyfelt.

Naas, Jacob Wilhelm, son of John. Came to America in 1735. His wife, Mary, came with him.

Naas, Mary, wife of Jacob Wilhelm.

Noethiger, Joanna, a widow; one of the original eight at Schwarzenau. Later she married Andrew Bony.

*Perger, Johannes.

*Perger, Anna Ursella.

Peterson, Pardoldt, a member living at Altoona in Germany. He died at that place.

*Pettikofer (Petenkoffer) John. See Germantown congregation, page 166.

Pettikofer, wife of John.

Pfau, Adrian, a Hollander who joined the church at West Friesland, whom Alexander Mack, Jr., calls "The wonderful and by-God-called Almoner, who gave annually 100,000 Dutch guilders out of his fortune in Amsterdam." Brother Pfau was a deacon of the church and a man of high rank, perhaps a nobleman.

Pfau, Michael.

Pfau, ——, wife of Michael.

*Ponne, Andreas.

*Ponne, Joanna Margaret.

Price (Priesz), Johannis, a minister of note at Creyfelt. Attended first love feast in America.

Price, Jacob, Sr. He and his wife were members

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

known to Alexander Mack, Jr. Jacob Price accompanied John Naas in 1715 on his missionary tour in Germany. He came to America and is buried near the Indian Creek meetinghouse in Montgomery County, Pa. It is possible that the Johannis Price above noted is the same as Jacob Price. If so, this Jacob came to America with Becker in 1719.

*Prunder, Johannis.

*Prunder, Joseph.

*Prunder, John.

*Prunder, Catharine Lisbet.

Ritter, Daniel, living in Germantown in October, 1733. Attended first love feast in America. He was called by Alexander Mack, "the beloved brother." His wife was also a member, but probably joined in America, as she was not at first love feast.

*Rafer, Feltin.

*Rafer, Anna M. Barbara.

Rose, Livi, a Hollander, converted in West Friesland by Alexander Mack.

Rohr, ——, a member at Creyfelt.

*Schneider (Snyder), Matheis.

*Schneider, Jacob.

*Schneider, Christian.

Schneider, Heinrich, a member at Conshohocken.

Schneider, Heinrich, a member in Germantown.

*Schneider, Magdelin.

*Schneider, Susanna.

Schneider, Peter, died November 2, 1741.

---

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

Schreder, Jacob, a member in Germany, whose wife was the first woman elder.

Schreder, wife of Jacob, the first woman elder of the "*Gemeine.*" "After her husband's death she lived seven years and served the congregation."—*Alexander Mack, Jr.*

*Schlachter (Slaughters), Hans.

Schmit, Hans George, a member of the congregation at Creyfelt.

Schmit, wife of George, also a member at Creyfelt.

Schmit, Jacob, a member at Creyfelt, to whom John Naas was much attached.

Stetzius, Luther, a member of the congregation at Creyfelt. John Naas sends him fraternal greeting in October 1733. He endured untold hardships in Gülch prison with five other Brethren, for his religion's sake. He was baptized in 1714, "in running water in the Wupper river."

Strizka, ——, a Polish nobleman, a member at Schwarzenau, known by Alexander Mack, Jr., who notes his death.

Sweitzer, Lorentz.

Sweitzer, ——, wife of Lorentz.

*Till, Alexander.

Traut, Johann Heinrich, a member who never married. Joined church in Schwarzenau before 1715 with his brothers, Jeremiah and Balser. Came to America with Peter Becker in 1719, attended first love feast in America, was active in the first great missionary tour and seems to have had next to Peter Becker power and in-

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

fluence in organizing new congregations. He lived at Germantown, and died January 4, 1733. Stephen Koch says of him, "He was an important brother and when I saw Brother Traut pass from time to eternity my heart was sorrowful and deeply grieved and it made such a deep impression upon me that I continually sighed unto God."

Traut, Jeremiah, attended first love feast in America. Never married.

Traut, Balser, attended first love feast in America. was twice married.

Traut, ——, first wife of above.

Traut, ——, second wife of above.

Traut, Magdalena, attended first love feast in America.

*Ulland, Matthias.

*Ulland, Johannis.

*Vetter, George.

Vetter (Fetter), Lucas, a member in Germany, known by Alexander Mack, Jr. He never came to America. He was one of the original eight at Schwarzenau.

Vetter, ——, wife of Lucas and a member of the church, but joined at Schwarzenau after 1708.

*Weiss (Wiss), Jacob. His death is recorded by Alexander Mack, Jr.

*Whitman, Maria Phillis.

*Wichtman (Whitman), Johannis.

Wintersee, Johannis.

Zettel, Philip, a brother whose death is lamented by Brother Mack.

---

*Came to America with Alexander Mack in 1729.

Zettel, ——, wife of Philip.

Zwingenberg, ——. John Naas in October 1733 sends fraternal greeting to this Brother at Creyfelt from Germantown.

CHAPTER VI.—The Leaders in Germany.

1. Alexander Mack.

To Alexander Mack the church must ever turn with gratitude and reverence. In the midst of persecutions and in an age of religious fanaticism, surrounded by men of all shades of belief, he heroically stood for the truth as he saw it. Around him, no doubt impressed by his piety and honesty, gathered faithful followers—men and women who abandoned former religious organizations and stood with him for the truth of God as revealed in Christ. To him we are indebted for our church organization and for the principles that bind into a Christian unity the members of God's visible church.

He was born in 1679 at Schriesheim an der Bergstrasse. He was a wealthy man, owning mills and vineyards. He was bred of pious parents and in the Presbyterian (Reformed) faith. He early became dissatisfied with the ecclesiastic domination of the state religions and became a Separatist. With his wife, Anna Margaretha, he endured persecution for his conscience's sake and eventually was obliged to leave home and put himself and family under the friendly protection of Count Henry of Schwarzenau. This was prior to 1708. At Schwarzenau he became

identified with the Pietist, Hochmann, and accompanied him upon many of his journeys along the Rhine. On these journeys Mack frequently preached to the persecuted people, and longed for the time when they with his own dear ones might have religious rest and a church home.

During all this time Alexander Mack was a careful student of the Bible and of all theological works. He knew the history of the church from the apostolic age to his own time. Convinced at last that it was impossible to live in the organized churches[1] and equally impossible to please God by remaining simply a Separatist he resolved to organize a new church, based upon primitive Christianity and honoring the ordinances as commanded by Christ. Upon the question of baptism he took advanced grounds, insisting that it should be "in flowing water and with complete submersion."

Hochmann was at this time in the Nürnberg prison. He inclined to be content with the milder form of pouring. But Mack, his most faithful friend, declared for trine immersion. Concerning trine immersion Hochmann wrote, "Such baptism I would surely observe if God would 'awaken' some of his witnesses in favor of it, and if such souls out of the grace of God also were willing to suffer and to risk all for the sake

(1) Pope Leo X. is reported to have said to Cardinal Bembo. "All the world knows how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us and to ours."—*D'Aubign.'s History of the Reformation. Book I. Chapter 7.*

of it, and yet remain faithful to Christ; for such things nowadays are followed by nothing but crosses and tribulations, as antichrist will rage yet fiercely against the members of Christ, and hence one must well count the cost beforehand, if one wants to be able to follow willingly the Lord Jesus in all things. Without this true following of Christ the water-baptism, even if performed on adults after the example of the primitive Christians would avail little or nothing."[1] He also in the same letter treats of the Lord's Supper, which he had omitted entirely on account of the abuse of it and the hypocrisy connected with it,[2] and which Mack and his followers were resolved to introduce as an ordinance of the new church. "The foundation of it must be in the love of Jesus and in the real communion of Brethren. Wherever the love of Jesus unites the hearts inwardly and has urged them to hold the outward love feast in the memory of the Lord Jesus, and also allows their life to be changed for the sake of Jesus Christ and his congregation, thus professing with heart and mouth and deed the death of Christ, *against that I will not stand*, since it is in accord with the Scriptures."

In a subsequent letter he says, "I have no objection if any man for the sake of conscience wants to be completely immersed (*eindumpeln*)."

(1) Goebel's *Christliches Leben*. Vol. III.

(2) Luther says an Augustine Monk at Rome in the sacramental service said, "Bread thou art, and bread thou shalt remain; wine thou art and wine thou shalt remain."—*Painter's Luther on Education, p. 15.*

It will be seen that Hochmann did not differ from Mack upon the scriptural right to observe these ordinances. He simply feared that an acknowledgment of them as necessary to a religious life would lead to the sham and formalism he so much detested. Formal religion had so persecuted the pious old man that he even hesitated to reëstablish apostolic methods. Mack in this crisis is the real hero. To him consequences were left with God. The one question was, what is right?

Upon this these two friends parted, Hochmann to spend his last days in sorrow and in poverty; Mack to become the founder and director of a new church. In spite of this it is perhaps true, as cited in the life of Hochmann, that Hochmann did eventually become the disciple of Mack and accept immersion. Goebel says he "upheld the bond of brotherly love" with the Brethren, and at one of the meetings in Switzerland he preached to the congregation. Alexander Mack was present. He did not approve of Hochmann's discourse and publicly protested against his teachings, and called Hochmann an erring spirit (*Irrgeist*). To this Hochmann made no response, but at the close of the meeting he arose, embraced Bro. Mack, kissed him in a hearty and brotherly manner and said to him smilingly, "When thou, dear Brother, sometime art in heaven and seest me arrive there also, then thou wilt feel glad and say, 'See! there cometh also our dear Brother Hochmann.'"

Copia eines Pietistischen Glaubens-Bekantnüsses.

NAchdem von Mr. mir gestern bey Nacht angekündiget worden / daß die gnädigste Herrschafft in meine unterthänig gebettene Dimission gewilliget / wann ich vorhero ein kurtz Glaubens Bekanntniß von mir gestellet haben würde / als habe hiemit solches gantz kurtz entwerffen sollen / wie folget:

„ 1. Ich glaube einen ewigen einigen / allmächtigen / allgegenwärtigen „GOtt / so sich im Alten Testament / als der GOtt Abraham Isaac und „Jacob / in dem neuen Bund aber als Vatter Sohn und Geist geoffenbaret hat. Matth. 28. v. 19. und befinde ich in meiner Seelen nicht nöthig „zu seyn / darüber viel zu disputiren oder critisiren: sondern halte vor beste „ser diesem ewigen Göttlichen Wesen im Vatter / Sohn und Geist sich „demüthig zu unterwerffen / und seine inwendige Würckung zu erfahren / „wie der Vatter den Sohn / und der Sohn wiederumb den Vatter inwendig offenbahret / und dieses durch die kräfftige Würckung des Heil. „Geistes / ohne welchen in Göttlichen Dingen nichts erlanget werden kan / „und diß ist auch allein das ewige Leben / daß man diesen einigen GOTT „recht erkenne wie Christus spricht Joh XVII, 3. und damit ich mich diß„falls kürtzlich erkläre / so bekenne ich mich mit Mund und Hertzen zu dem „uhralten Außeischen Glaubens-Bekänntnüß, Credo in Deum, &c.

„ 2. Von der Tauffe glaube ich / daß sie Christus allein vor die erwachsenen und nicht vor die kleinen Kinder eingesetzet / weil man davon „in der gantzen H. Schrifft kein jota eines ausdrücklichen Befehls aufweisen kan / dann die Argumenta und gute Meynungen wollen in diesen „Puncten nicht hinlänglich seyn sondern da müssen ausdrückliche Befehle „von Gott oder Christo ausgesprochen seyn / wie ein ausdrücklicher Befehl „vom Beschneiden der Israeliten Kinder da ist.

„ 3. Von des HErrn Abendmal glaube ich / daß es nur vor die auserwehlte Jünger Christi / die mit Verläugnung alles Weltlichen Wesens / Christo JEsu in der That und Warheit nachfolgen / eingesetzt sey; „und der Bund Gottes sehr geschmähet / und sein Zorn über die gantze Gemeine gereitzet wird / wann die Gottlosen Weltkinder zu dem Liebesmahl „des HErrn hinzugelassen werden / wie es heutiges Tags leyder! geschiehet.

„ 4. Von der Vollkommenheit glaube ich / daß / ob ich schon im „sündlichen Saamen gezeuget und gebohren bin / ich dannoch durch „Chris-

„Christum nicht allein gerecht sondern auch vollkommen geheiliget werden „kann/ so/ daß gar kein Sünde mehr in mir bleiben darff/ wann ich zur „vollkommenen Mann-Statur in Christo werde gelanget seyn. Ich rühme „mich aber noch nicht/ daß ich die Vollkommenheit ergriffen habe/ sondern „ich erkenne mit Paulo/ daß ich derselben mit allem Ernst und Eyfer nach„jagen will und mich Gott und dem Lamm zu seinem völligen Dienst hei„ligen; daß man aber vollkommen werden kan/ ist aus der gantzen Heil„Schrifft auf allen Blättern fast zu erweisen: Ich führe aber dißmahl „nur diesen einzigen gar deutlichen Spruch an Hebr. VII 25. nach deß „Piscatoris Version. Daher er auch vollkommen selig machen kan die jeni„gen so durch ihn zu Gott kommen/ als der da immerdar lebet vor sie zu „bitten. Es ist gewißlich nicht gnug/ daß eine grosse Erlösung durch „Christum vor mich geschehen/ sondern es muß auch diese Erlösung von „Sünde/ Todt/ Teuffel und Hölle inwendig in der Seelen durch den „Sohn deß lebendigen Gottes/ und sein theures Mittler-Ampt ausge„würcket werden/ daß so wol das Prophetische/ Hohepriesterliche als Kö„nigliche sich kräfftig in der Seele biß zur Erlangung deß vollkommenen „Ebenbildes Gottes hervor thun muß/ und also Christus in uns eine „Geistliche Gestalt gewinnen muß/ und wo dieses nicht so lebendig in der „Seelen durch Christum bey Leibes-Leben vorgehet/ kan man nach dem „zeitlichen Tode nicht zur Anschauung Gottes gelangen/ weil ohne die „Heiligung niemand Gott schauen wird/ dann wer diese Hoffnung hat/ „zur Anschauung Gottes zu gelangen/ der muß sich reinigen/ gleich wie „er auch rein ist. I. Joh. III. 3.

„ 5. Von dem Ampt des Geistes glaube ich/ daß Christus/ der das „Haupt der Gemeine ist allein Lehrer und Prediger setzen/ und ihnen die „Tüchtigkeit darzu geben kan/ und kein Mensch/ dann nur allein der über „alle Himmel auffgefahrne und alles erfüllende Christus/ hat etliche zu „Aposteln/ etliche aber zu Propheten/ etliche zu Evangelisten/ etliche zu „Hirten und Lehrern gesetzt daß die Heiligen zugerichtet werde zum Werck „deß Ampts Ephes IV, 10. 11. Actor. XX, 28. stehet ausdrücklich der Heilige „Geist (NB. und kein Mensch) habe sie gesetzet zu Bischoffen zu weiden „die Gemeine Gottes/ welche er durch sein eygen Blut erworben hat.

„ 6. Von der Obrigkeit glaube ich/ daß sie in dem Reich der Natur eine „Göttliche Ordnung sey welcher ich mich auch gerne in allen Civil-Dingen „unterwerff nach der Lehre Pauli Röm. XIII, 1-7. Hingegen aber die wi„der Gottes Wort und mein Gewissen/ oder die Freyheit Christi streiten/ „gestatte ich ihnen mit allen wahren Evangelischen keine Gewalt; dann da

„heisset

„deſſet es: man muß GOtt ꝛc. Actor. V. 29. und leide ich / ſo mir wider „GOtt und das Gewiſſen etwas wird aufgebürdet werden / lieber alle un„rechtmäßige Gewalt, als daß ich darwider handeln ſolte / und bitte daß es „GOtt denen Obrigkeiten nicht zurechen / ſondern ſie bekehren wolle; „das bekenne ich aber ferner / daß de eſſentia Magiſtratus Politici eben nicht „ſey / daß ſie ein Chriſt ſey; Denn es iſt der Türcke zu Conſtantinopel und „der Pabſt zu Rom auch eine wahre Obrigkeit in denen Reichen der Na„tur / aber deßwegen ſeynd ſie doch keine Chriſten / denn wo eine Obrig„keit von mir mit dem gar venerablen prædicat Chriſtlich genennet wer„den ſoll / ſo muß ich an ihr ſpühren / daß ſie Chriſti Geiſt habe / ſonſt ſa„ge ich mit dem heiligen Paulo Röm. VIII. v. 9 Wer Chriſti Geiſt nicht „hat / der iſt nicht ſein / und folglich auch keine Chriſtliche Obrigkeit; ſon„dern ich conſiderire und reſpectire ſie als Heydniſche Potences, wel„che aber ihren Periodum bald werden erreichet haben / weil ich aus „Gottes Wort ohnfehlbarlich überzeuget worden bin / daß der zu des Vat„ters Rechten ſitzende glorieuſe Chriſtus bald herein brechen wird / alle „Heydniſche Potencer von ihren Stühlen ſtoſſen / und nach der heiligen „Marie Weiſſagung die Niedrigen erheben wird denn das Scepter Chriſti „wird alle andere Thieriſche Reiche zerſtören und zumahlen. Dan II. 44. Ja „das Lamm wird das Thier und ſeinen Anhang überwinden / wie Apoc. „XVII. 14. deutlich ſtehet: Dieſe werden ſtreiten mit dem Lamm / und das „Lamm wird ſie überwinden; denn es iſt der HErr aller Heeren / und der „König aller Könige / und mit ihm die Beruffene und Außerwehlte und „Glaubige; und weil nun das Reich Chriſti ſo nahe vor der Thür iſt / ſo „bekenne ich / daß ich als ein geiſtlichter Statiſt aus Gottes Wort gelernet „habe auff die aufgehende Sonne der Gerechtigkeit mehr reflexion, als auf „die in kurtzen abgehende Hoheiten der Welt zu machen; denn jene dau„ret in die Ewigkeiten der Ewigkeiten / dieſe aber werden ihren Periodum „durch die groſſe bevorſtehende Gerichte Gottes bald erreichet haben ꝛc.

„ 7. Was letzlich den Punct von der Widerbringung der verdammter „Menſchen anlangt / ſo ſehe ich nicht / wie es hujus Loci ſey dieſes Orths „auszuführen / weil er gar eine weitläuftige Deduction erfordert / wenn er „deutlich und klärlich verſtanden werden ſoll; nur dieſes will ich hie gantz „kurtz einziehen / daß gleich wie in Adam alle Menſchen gefallen ſind / alſo „müſſen auch durch den andern Adam Chriſtum JEſum alle Menſchen wie„der gebracht werden; ſo dieſes nicht wäre / ſo folget nothwendig / daß Chri„ſtus nicht mächtig gnug wäre / das Menſchliche Geſchlecht zu wieder„bringen / welches durch Adam verlohren gangen / und kan hiebey daß

„Cap

„ Cap. Roman. geleſen und daraus erſehen werden / wie die Wider-
„ bringung in dem Mittler-Ampt Chriſti viel ſtärcker und mächtiger
„ ſey als der Sünden-Fall in Adam kaum geweſen iſt. 1. Cor. XV. 22.
„ ſtehet ausdrücklich: Wie ſie in Adam alle ſterben / alſo werden ſie in
„ Chriſto alle lebendig gemacht werden; Aber / wie gedacht / es kan
„ nach ſeiner Würde dieſe Materie unmöglich ausgeführet werden /
„ ſondern es erfordert einen mündlichen Vortrag / wenn alle hiebey vor-
„ fallende Einwürffe und Dubia aus Gottes Wort erörtert werden
„ ſolten; und weil diß die vornehmſten Puncten ſeynd / ſo heutiges Ta-
„ ges in quæſtione controverſa ſeynd / als habe dieſelbe hiemit kürtz-
„ lich anfſetzen wollen / und einer hohen Landes-Obrigkeit überreichen
„ ſollen / mit dem angehängten hertzlichen Wunſch / daß GOtt der All-
„ mächtige dieſelbe mit ſeinem Lichte von oben kräftig erleuchten mö-
„ ge; und weil ich auch vielleicht keine Gelegenheit haben möchte / vor
„ der hohen Obrigkeit dieſes Landes zu erſcheinen; Als ſtatte hiemit
„ erſtlich GOtt dem Allmächtigen und denn auch der gnädigſten Herr-
„ ſchafft ſchuldigen unterthänigen Danck ab / vor alles Gute, ſo ich Zeit
„ meines Hierſeyns genoſſen. GOtt / der da reich iſt von Barmhertzig-
„ keit / vergelte alles / ſo mir gutes geſchehen iſt / in Zeit und Ewigkeit /
„ und laſſe dasjenige ernſtliche Flehen und Bitten vor den Hrn. dieſes
„ Hauſes vor ſeine Genahde und das gantze Hauß / doch bald in die Er-
„ füllung gehen damit aller Fluch abgewendet / und hergegen der Geiſt-
„ liche Seegen GOttes darinnen offenbahret werden möge. Und ob
„ ich ſchon nicht mehr in dieſem Hauſe oder Lande gegenwärtig hinführo
„ ſeyn darf / ſo werde ich doch nicht unterlaſſen vor die Seele deß theure-
„ ſten Friederichs Adolphs zu GOtt dem Vatter der Geiſter alles
„ Fleiſches meine hertzliche Vorbitte zu continuiren / und / ſo lange ich
„ lebe / verharre des gantzen Hochgräflichen Hauſes

Unterthänigſter Vorbitter

Auf dem Schloß Detmold im Monath Novembr. 1702.

E. C. H. v. H.

D P.S.

Hochmann's *Confession of Faith*, written in prison at Detmold in 1702 was well known to Brother Mack. He used it as the basis of the rites and ordinances of the congregation. It expresses more nearly than any other contemporary document the views of the Brethren at Schwarzenau. For that reason it is here given in the original German from a rare old print, and also in a literal translation. The Brethren in America prized it so much that Christoph Saur at Germantown printed it in 1743, and a fragment of an Ephrata edition has been found.

Hochmann's Confession of Faith (1702).

After it had been announced to me last night that His Excellency had acceded to my dismissal, respectfully requested, if I would beforehand make a short confession of my belief, I have herewith given a short outline of this, as follows:

1. I believe an eternal, sole, almighty, omnipresent God, as he has revealed himself in the Old Testament as the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, but in the New Book as the Father, Son and Ghost (Matthew 28, v. 19), and I do not consider it necessary in my soul to dispute or criticise much about it: but I consider it better to submit one's self humbly to this eternal Godly being in the Father, Son and Ghost and to experience his inner working, just as the Father reveals the Son inwardly and the Son again the Father, and this by the powerful working of the Holy Ghost, without which nothing can be known in Godly things and this too is alone the eternal life, that one should rightly acknowledge this one God, as Christ

speaks (John 17: 3): and that I may explain myself in few words about this: I profess with mouth and heart the well known old Ausselic Creed, *Credo in Deum*, etc.

2. Concerning baptism, I believe that Christ instituted it only for the grown up and not for the little children, because one cannot find an iota of an express command about it in the whole holy Scripture; for arguments and good opinions cannot be sufficient (hung together) on these points, but there must be express commands, expressed by God or Christ, as there is an express command about the circumcision of the Israelite children.

3. Concerning the Lord's Supper, I believe that it is instituted for the chosen disciples of Christ, who by the renunciation of all worldly things, follow Christ Jesus in deed and truth; and that the covenant of God will be much reviled and his anger inflamed over the whole community, if the Godless children of the world are admitted to the love feast, as, unfortunately! is done at the present time.

4. Concerning perfection (the full coming of the Spirit), I believe that although I have been conceived and born in sinful seed, yet that I may be sanctified through Jesus Christ, not only justly but perfectly, so that no more sin may remain in me, when I shall have come to complete manhood in Christ. But I do not yet boast of having attained perfection, but I acknowledge with Paul that I am striving to attain it with all earnestness and zeal and am consecrating myself to God and the Lamb to his complete service; but that it is possible for one to become perfect is to be proved from the Holy Scripture on all pages: but

this time I will only cite one very clear proverb (Heb. 7: 25), in the version of Piscator. He can therefore also make those perfectly blessed, who come to God through him, who is ever living to intercede for them. It is surely not enough, that a great redemption should be done for me through Christ, but this redemption from sin, death, devil and hell must be effected within the soul by the Son of the living God and by his loving and faithful mediatorship, so that not only that which is prophetic, high-priestly, but also that which is kingly must distinguish itself in the soul even to the attainment of the perfect likeness of God and Christ and thus take a spiritual form within us, and if this does not take place actively in the soul through Christ in life-time one cannot attain to the contemplation of God, for without this sanctification no one will see God; for whoever hopes to see God must purify himself, as he too is pure (1 John 3: 3).

5. Concerning the sacrament of the Holy Ghost I believe that Christ alone, who is the head of the church, can appoint teachers and preachers and give them the qualification for it. And no being but only Christ, risen above all heavens and fulfilling everything, has appointed some apostles, some however prophets, some evangelists, some pastors (flock-keepers) and teachers, so that the saints may be fitted for the work of the ministry. Ephesians 4: 10, 11, Acts 20: 28 state expressly that the Holy Ghost (N. B. and not man) had made them bishops to pasture the congregation of God, which he has purchased with his own blood.

6. Concerning high power. I believe that it is a divine ordinance, to which I willingly submit in all

civil matters according to the teachings of Paul (Romans 13: 1, 7). On the other hand, however, with all true evangelical (believers) I accord no power to those who struggle against God's Word and my conscience or the freedom of Christ: for it is said: We ought to obey God, etc. (Acts 5: 29), and if anything should be charged against God and my conscience I should rather suffer unjust force than act contrary to this and I pray that God may not put it to the account of those magistrates, but may convert them; but I further declare that in reference to the *essentia Magistratus Politici* (essential political powers) that it is not a Christ: for the Turk at Constantinople and the Pope at Rome are also true magistrates in the realm of nature, but they are not Christians for this reason; for where a magistracy shall receive the venerable predicate Christian from me, I must feel in it that it has the Spirit of Christ, or else I say with Saint Paul (Romans 8: 9), Whoever has not the Spirit of Christ is not his and therefore not a Christian power; but I consider and regard them as heathen powers, who however will soon have reached their time, for I have been infallibly convinced from God's Word that the glorious Christ sitting at the Father's right hand will soon break in and will thrust all the heathen powers from their seat and according to the prophecy of Holy Mary will raise the lowly, for the sceptre of Christ will destroy and break to pieces all other animal kingdoms (Dan. 2: 44). Indeed the Lamb will conquer the beast and its horns, as is stated distinctly (Apoc. 17: 14). These will quarrel with the Lamb and the Lamb will conquer them; for it is the Lord of all lords and the King of all kings and

with it the called and chosen and the believers; and now because the Kingdom of Christ is so near at hand, I confess that I as a spiritual statistician have learned from God's Word to reflect more upon the rising sun of justice than upon the high powers of the world soon to depart; for that will last into the eternity of eternities, but these will soon have reached their limit (periodum), by the great impending judgments of God.

7. Finally, as concerns the restoration (redemption) of damned men I do not see how this is the place to carry it out, since it demands a circumstantial deduction, if it is to be understood distinctly and clearly; I will only here add very briefly that as in Adam all men have fallen, so also must all men be born again, through the other Adam, Jesus Christ; if this were not so, it would necessarily follow that Christ were not powerful enough to restore the human race which was lost through Adam and in this connection the chapter of the Epistle to the Romans can be read and from this may be seen how the restoration in the mediatorship of Christ has been much stronger and more mighty than the fall of sin in Adam. 1 Cor. 15: 22 is stated explicitly: For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive. But, as has been mentioned, this matter (*materia*) can not possibly be carried out in accordance with its dignity, but it demands a word-of-mouth deliverance, if all the objections and doubts occurring herewith are to be explained from the Word of God.

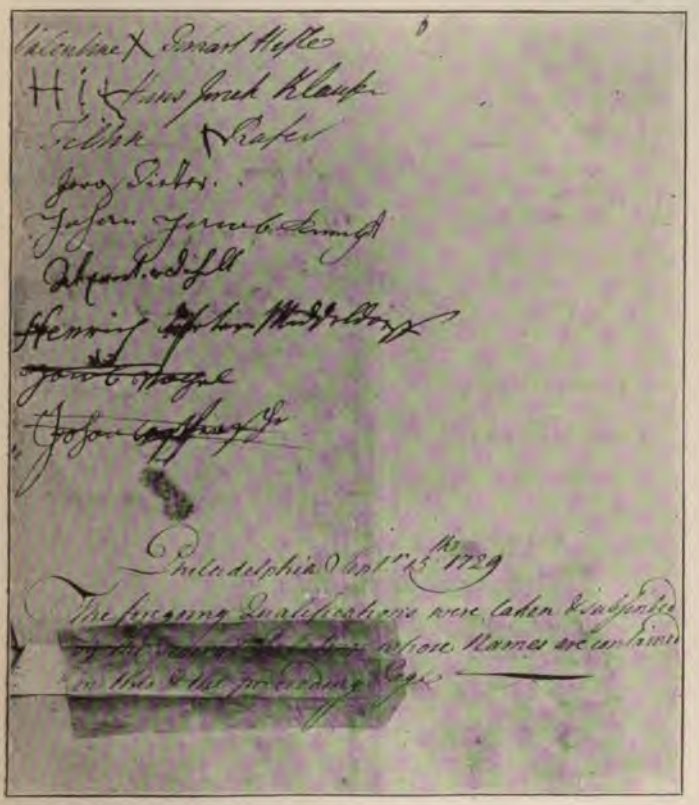
And since these are the most important points, which at the present day are questions of controversy, I wished to draw them up in short form herewith

and have to hand them over to a high authority of the country with the added hearty wish that God the Almighty may light them up with his light; and since I might have no opportunity to appear before the high authorities of this land: I therefore herewith give my due, humble thanks to God the Almighty and then to my most gracious master for everything good that I have enjoyed during my stay here. May God who is rich in mercy reward everything good done me, in time and eternity; and may he soon allow the earnest pleadings and prayers for the master of this house, for his wife, and the whole house to be fulfilled, so that every curse may be turned and that on the other hand the spiritual blessing of God may be revealed therein. And although I may not be present any more in this land or house, henceforth, I shall not leave off continuing my heartfelt prayers to God the Father of the spirits of all flesh for the soul of the most loved Frederick Adolph, and as long as I live I remain the most humble intercessor for the whole house of the Count.

E. C. H. v. H.

In Castle Detmold,
in the month of November, 1702.

As soon as the church was organized at Schwarzenau Alexander Mack became its pastor and guiding spirit. He was the instrument in God's hands for a great work. The congregation prospered. Branch congregations were created, and finally at Creyfelt an independent congregation was organized. When Peter Becker came to America in 1719 Mack was in full sympathy with his coming and even then looked



Signatures of Alexander Mack and Other Brethren on Landing in America, 1720.

forward to the time when he could also come to America. The death of Count Henry at Schwarzenau led to violent persecutions and the mother congregation under Mack fled to West Friesland[1] for protection in 1720. Here some Hollanders were won to the church. But news of the good work at Germantown reached the exiled Brethren and they decided to come to Pennsylvania.

Accordingly about thirty families including Alexander Mack, his wife and three sons sailed in the ship *Allen*, under command of James Craigie, from Rotterdam, *via* Cowes, and after a tempestuous and perilous voyage of seventy-one days they landed at Philadelphia, September 15, 1729.[2]

At Germantown Alexander Mack found a warm welcome, and the hearts of all were cheered and comforted at so large an increase in the membership. Over this congregation he presided with great wisdom and skill. He went to the Schuylkill (Coventry) and ordained Martin Urner as bishop of the Coventry church. Thus the succession in ordination came through Mack and Urner to all succeeding bishops of the church. In his ministry he was assisted by Peter Becker, and the Germantown congregation became a center of great influence. The work of Mack attracted the attention of Christoph Saur who removed from the Conestoga country to Germantown in 1731, and in

(1) Seidensticker says they found a refuge in Rüstringen, Ost Friesland.

(2) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, p. 18.

Saur's house Mack and Becker preached for many years, until a son of Mack and the son of Saur took the oversight of the church and managed it with great skill and piety until they were gathered to their fathers.

Mack was a man of quiet spirit. He never antagonized anyone, but always held to the faith he loved. He was not easily convinced of any new doctrine, and he looked with suspicion upon all movements and men at variance with the plain teachings of the Bible. On one occasion a preacher of unusual eloquence was canvassing the country and holding meetings among the Brethren, although he was not a member of the Brethren Church. At length this man came to Germantown. Here he drew a large audience, including many of Bishop Mack's members. They gave such glowing accounts of the eloquent divine that Mack at last consented to hear him. At the close of the meeting Mack was asked what he thought. He answered, "Oh, he might do very well for an army chaplain but not at all for a minister to a peace-loving people. I advise you not even to hear him."

About a fortnight after this in Philadelphia a regiment, about to leave for a distant point, wanted a chaplain. The man whom Mack had characterized as suited for such a work strangely enough went to the city, applied for the place, was accepted, and went

along with the regiment. Thus was Bishop Mack's prediction fulfilled to the very letter.

In 1700 Alexander Mack was married to Anna Margaretha Klingen, a native of the same place as Mack and about the same age. To them were born three sons and two daughters: Alexander, John Valentine, Johannes, Christina and Anna Maria. The daughters died young. His wife and sons accompanied him to West Friesland in 1720, and to Germantown in 1729.

The sons all joined the church at Germantown in their seventeenth year as also did Christopher Sower. From this we may, perhaps, infer that Mack taught that the proper age for membership was at least sixteen years.

Alexander Mack, Jr., became bishop at Germantown and his relation to the early church is so important that he will be discussed in a succeeding chapter to which the reader is referred.

Valentine Mack became a member of the Ephrata community in 1737. He married Maria Hildebrand,[1] daughter of John Hildebrand. She died August 11, 1758. To them was born a daughter known at Ephrata as Sister Constantia. This daughter died October 31, 1782, aged fifty years and three months. She never married.

Valentine Mack died at Ephrata in 1755. He was the author of an important work, entitled, "*Christian*

(1) Maria Hildebrand was known in the Ephrata Sisterhood as "Sister Abigail."

Day Guide (*Tagweiser*) of the seven days of the human tree in which by a mystic chronology is proven how near the end of the six days of strife and hardship and the seventh day and great Sabbath of the people of God is coming. Which chronology has not been figured out by the rotations of the material heavens, but out of the rotations of the divine mystery and paradisaical heaven by which in the household of God since the commencement of the world, the mystery of eternity is revealed to mankind and time changes into eternity, and makes out of the seven periods of the human world seven eternities. Given to light by Johan Valentine Mack, 1753."

This important mystical work is not noted in Seidensticker's or Hildeburn's works, and seems to be entirely unknown. I was fortunate enough to find a record of it in a letter from John Hildebrand, Mack's father-in-law, to Christoph Saur and Alexander Mack, dated "Ephrata, the 20th of December, 1759." The volume was read in the Ephrata brotherhood by a great many brothers, including Conrad Beissel and Peter Miller, both of whom pronounced the work of a high order.

The work treats of the creation of angels; the fall of Lucifer; the creation of this world; the creation of Adam and Eve; their fall, and reëstablishment after the fall by the Redeemer, Jesus Christ. Upon a study of the chronology, based upon Daniel 8: 13, 14, he predicts the end of the reign of Antichrist in 1777,

after which the Gospel is once again to be preached in a powerful way to all nations, and the earth will become filled with the knowledge of the Lord. The work was written the year of the author's death.

It will be seen from this that Valentine Mack was a man of considerable ability, and in religious zeal a type of the life his father had to contend against all his days. It is to be noted that it was not until the death of his father that the young man and his wife were drawn to Ephrata.

Concerning John Mack little is known. He was a member of the church in the "Antitum" region, in the Cumberland Valley, where he stoutly resisted the introduction of Seventh Day influences and where he died, loyal to his religion.

Alexander Mack was the author of *A Plain View of the Rites and Ordinances of the House of God,* and of answers to *Gruber's Thirty-Nine Questions.* Both works were published at Schwarzenau in 1713. The immediate occasion of their composition is to be found in the fact that at Schwarzenau a large number of Separatists and others sought to enter the congregation without becoming subject to the ordinances of the church. "The good Alexander Mack felt constrained to write a little tract, in which he showed them that each tribe must hold its own standard."(1)

When Mack came to America in 1729 he found a sad state of affairs. The Germantown and Coventry

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense,* p. 50.

Brethren were faithfully following the true practices of the church. But in the Conestoga country Beissel and his followers had withdrawn, rebaptized themselves, formed a new community, observed Saturday as the Sabbath, and began to proselyte in the faithful congregations. Concerning Mack's reception, Peter Miller says, "This reverend man would have well deserved to be received with arms of love by all the pious in common after all that he had suffered in Germany, especially from his own people;" but Mack was a firm believer in the doctrines of the church and could not countenance innovations. He learned at Germantown of the strange conditions in the Conestoga country and his heart was saddened. He prayerfully resolved to visit his own people and to suspend fellowship, as the Germantown congregation had previously done, with the followers of Beissel.

In October of 1730 Brother Mack visited the members at Falckner's Swamp, accompanied by several of the Brethren. Beissel, it seems, came to the same place at the same time and conducted services in the house of John Senseman. To his meeting went Alexander Mack, evidently for the purpose of opening the way for a reconciliation. Mack made an address to the people in which he piously exclaimed, "The peace of the Lord be with you." To which Beissel replied, "We have the same peace."[1]

(1) This was the common salutation used in Germany at all meetings of the pious. See Leopold Ranke's *History of the Reformation*, Vol. III.

Mack proposed that both parties should betake themselves to prayer to ascertain which of them was guilty of the separation. Then Mack and his followers fell upon their knees and he offered up a fervent prayer. At the conclusion of the prayer Mack enquired the reason for the separation. To which Beissel replied, censuring the Brethren for coming to the meeting, and refusing to consider their differences.

At another time a visit was made to Ephrata in the hope of a reconciliation. But Beissel hid himself away and the meeting did not occur. It will be seen from this that the influence of Bishop Mack was exerted for a reconciliation on the ground of a confession and a return to the faith and practices of the church. Beissel would not accept the proffered terms. He later on did offer to drop all differences, and to fellowship with the Brethren; but this could not be done for the reason that no confession of wrong was proposed, and hence union was impossible.

That this unfortunate division saddened and shortened the life of Alexander Mack is doubtless true. He died February 19, 1735.

What a life of persecution he endured! Driven from his prosperous home and his property at Schriesheim, he found refuge at Schwarzenau. Persecuted and exiled from Schwarzenau, in 1720, he found a refuge in West Friesland; from which place, in 1729, he fled to America only to find here, in the

land of religious liberty, discord and disunion. In his life he exemplified the doctrine his followers love, founded a church that has steadily grown to splendid proportions, and won the admiration and respect of all persons. In his death, he drew his sorrowing followers still closer to him and bequeathed to his people a rich legacy of truth. On the anniversary of his death let his Brethren recount his services, retell the story of his life, and rededicate themselves to the cause for which he lived and died.

2. *John Naas.*

Among the great preachers of the church in Germany the name of John Naas stands equal to the best. Naas was, next to Mack, the most influential and successful defender of the faith.

He early identified himself with the persecuted ones in the Marienborn district and finally with them settled at Creyfelt. Here he was active in the discharge of his duties as elder of the congregation. He was born about 1670, at Norten in Westphalia, and was twice married. His first wife died in Germany. By this marriage he had at least one child, a daughter, who became the wife of Brother William Grau at Creyfelt. His second wife, Margaret, and a daughter, Elizabeth, accompanied him to America in 1733, a married son, Jacob Wilhelm, remained in Germany until 1735.

August 26, 1735, forty-five emigrants, late inhab-

Gravestone of Alexander Mack.

itants of the canton of Bern, in Switzerland, in the ship *Billander Oliver*, Samuel Merchant, Master, landed at Philadelphia. In this number was Jacob Wilhelm Naas and his wife Mary.[1]

John Naas was a liberal man, and in administering the office of elder at Creyfelt, greatly endeared himself to the members. With the congregation, he opposed Christian Libe and four single brethren in their efforts to expel the young minister Höcker at Creyfelt.[2] This led to a controversy between Naas and Libe in which the former called the latter a pill-monger and withdrew from Creyfelt and lived in great pain and retirement, perhaps in Switzerland, until he was urged by Mack to come to America.

George Adam Martin calls him "the incomparable teacher," and again "the blessed teacher."[3]

John Naas was a man of commanding figure. In the year 1715, accompanied by Brother Jacob Priesz, he traveled through the country from Creyfelt to Marienborn and Epstein, proclaiming the Gospel of our Lord. At this time Creyfelt was under the control of the King of Prussia. The king's recruiting officers were canvassing the country to secure recruits for the Prussian army. Every one of sturdy appearance was compelled to enter the service. The king

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 100, and *Pennsylvania Archives*, Second Series, Vol. XVII, p. 119.

(2) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 247, *et seq.*

(3) *Ibid*, pp. 247 and 249.

was especially anxious to secure tall, strong men for his own body or life guard.

John Naas was just such a man. He was a head taller than any other person in the community, and was possessed of a stout, athletic constitution, combined with such grace and nobleness of demeanor as almost to strike a stranger with awe. Priesz, on the contrary, was a small, feeble man.

One day they met the king's recruiting officers, whereupon Naas was seized and urged to enlist. He refused. They tortured him to compel him to submit. These tortures consisted of pinching, thumb-screwing, etc. But he steadfastly refused. They then hung him up with a heavy cord by his left thumb and right great toe, in which painful and ignominious position they meant to leave him suspended until he should yield to their demands.

This did not cause him to consent, and, fearing that they would kill him if they longer continued their barbarous torture, they cut him down and dragged him by force into the presence of the king.

They explained to the king what they had done and told the king how resolutely and stubbornly he withstood their efforts to enlist him. The king eyed Elder Naas closely and said, "Why, yes! we would much like to have him. Tell me why you refuse to enlist."

"Because," answered the noble Christian, "I cannot,

as I have long ago enlisted in the noblest and best army; and I cannot become a traitor to my King."

"And who is your captain?" asked the king.

"My Captain," answered he, "is the great Prince Immanuel, our Lord Jesus Christ. I have espoused his cause, and cannot and will not forsake him."

"Neither will I then ask you to do so," answered the noble ruler, handing him a gold coin as a reward for his fidelity. The king then released him.

It may be of interest to know that the historic Rhine was the scene of a remarkable baptism. The record of the event is found in the printed "*Apology*"[1] of Alexander Mack, Jr., in which, as the title in full reveals, a defense of trine immersion is made. He adds personal testimony as follows:

"I have to testify before God that in these cold, Western countries, in the short time of my pilgrimage here, over a thousand people, of various natures, have been baptized by immersion, and, indeed, many of them in the cold winter. I have not heard of a single one that had caused to him the least harm or affliction to the health of his body. On the contrary, conscientious men bear testimony that they had had infirmities and lost them through the Word in water baptism.

"I shall relate only one example from among a

(1) Apology, / or a Scriptural Answer / of Certain Truths / Brought about by a recently published Article, under the name / the / Refuted Anabaptist. / In a Dialogue / written for the Common People. / The whole conversation, word for word, / is given in these pages, and the / Apology / as an answer to the Perverted Truth / added by / Theophilus (Alexander Mack) / Ephrata / Published at the Expense of the Brethren, in the year 1788. /

large number. Something more than 66 years ago (hence before 1722), there was in Europe in Chur Pfaltz in Rheindecken, in a little village close to the Rhine, not far from Mannheim, a sister who had long been sick and bedfast so that her friends did not believe that she could get well.

"It now pleased Providence to let it so happen that a teacher of Anabaptism, by the name of John Naas, came to visit some friends at this place. He dwelt with godly conversation in order to edify the friends gathered there, and at the same place where the sick sister was, so that she would be able to hear with them. In this way he caused the sick woman to give ear; and she made known how that she had a strong desire to be baptized after the manner of the early Christians.

"Her friends that were present made objections and expressed their doubt of the advisability of attempting such a thing, because she was so very weak that she could not be taken to the Rhine; and even if she could be gotten there with a great deal of trouble and pain, she might die in the hands of the baptizer, which would be the cause of a great wrong.

"John Naas, however, went to the sick woman's bed, spoke with her and said: 'Have you faith (do you believe) that this work of the Lord can yet be performed to your sick body?' She answered, 'Yes.' Thereupon he said, 'I also believe it, so let it be undertaken with thee.'

"At this the friends withdrew their objections and made preparations to satisfy the sister and her faith. They took her up, dressed her for baptism, and led or carried her by both arms, with much suffering,

into the Rhine. There she knelt down in the name of Jesus and was by John Naas immersed in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. After this there was the laying on of hands, and prayer offered over her, and she was healed. She went up out of the water with great rejoicing before all the others, and when she came home she ministered to them."

Alexander Mack also held Brother Naas in high esteem and urged him to come to America, forget the unfortunate affair at Creyfelt, and join heartily in the Lord's work in America. Glad to be near those of like precious faith and parting with his children and grandchildren, accompanied by his wife and one daughter, he sailed on the brigantine *Pennsylvania Merchant*, John Stedman, Master, from Rotterdam, touching at Plymouth, and landing in Philadelphia in September, 1733. They qualified September 18, 1733.[1]

This voyage was so characteristic of the dangers and trials that beset the early Brethren on the Atlantic that a record of it at length will be found not only of interest in his own case, but as typical of the experience of all the members who braved the sea to find a refuge in the peaceful Province of William Penn.

Through the research of Dr. Oswald Seidensticker, late of the University of Pennsylvania, we have been

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 89.

so fortunate as to secure from Germany a copy of a letter from Elder Naas to his son Jacob Wilhelm,

who was then living in Switzerland. The letter is dated:

GERMANTOWN, the 17th of Oct., 1733.

Heartily Beloved Son, Jacob Wilhelm Naas,

I greet thee and thy dear wife Margareta, together with her dear children, very heartily. . . . The eternal and almighty God give you all much light of grace and faith so that you may not only choose the good in time of grace, but may you also win the true and active faith, in true sanctification and child-like obedience in Christ Jesus. Would that the great God through Jesus Christ might work this within us and in all who love his appearance. Amen, yes: Amen.

As I have been requested by some to describe our journey, I have not been able to refuse it entirely, therefore I will do it in as short a way as possible. [He then refers to a letter of September 15th, from Germantown, announcing their safe arrival, and also to a letter from Plymouth, England, in which he describes the journey from Rotterdam to that place, but which letter is not now believed to be in existence.]

The 24th of June we went from Rotterdam to within half an hour's distance from Dort, where we lay still, the wind being contrary. On July 3rd we started and the ship was drawn by men several times on the river Maas, as far as the neighborhood of Helvoetsluys. There the wind became favorable so that we sailed into the sea on July 5th, near Helvoetsluys. Then the seasickness began among the people, that is, dizziness and vomiting. The greatest number after having vomited could begin to eat again.

On the 13th of July, early in the morning, we arrived in the port of Plymouth, which port lies in the midst of rocks. We had to lie in the middle of the harbor until the ship was released by the custom officers and provisioned.

On July 21st we sailed into the big ocean and on our left we lost the land, France and Spain. The 24th we also lost it on our right, namely England. The 25th a little child died. It came upon the ship very sick; the next day about 8 o'clock it was buried in the sea. When the body fell from the plank into the water I saw with great astonishment that a large number of big fish appeared and darted quickly away in front of the ship, as if they wished to flee from the corpse.

For ten days we had steadily a good breeze, so that we sailed a long way on the big ocean.

The 28th of July, before daylight, a French man-of-war by the name of *Elizabeth*, came near us. This Captain examined our Captain in French. After having made themselves known to each other, they wished one another a happy trip and each went on his course.

After this day we had very changeable weather so that in three weeks we made only sixty hours [about 180 miles], which in very good wind we could have done in one day.

On August 3rd, I got up an hour before day in order to see how it was going, as I had made up my mind to watch the compass during the entire trip, to see if there would be a change in our course. When I reached the ladder, all the people were still asleep and a bedstead was under the ladder, and the coverlet of the people lay high up against the ladder, and during the night it had been raining a little so that it was slippery under the trap-hole, and while I was standing on the top step of the ladder and was about to climb on deck, the people in their bed stretched themselves and unwittingly knocked the ladder from under my feet; then I fell down from the top and with my left side I struck upon the ladder, that I was almost unconscious and lay there a long time before I could get up. Then I had to lie on my back about two weeks till I could get up again and walk a little. At first I feared that I would remain lame, but to the great God be all the glory in his Son, who has caused me to get well again without herbs or plaster, so that I feel but little of it any more.

The 4th the crew early in the morning spiked a big fish with a harpoon. It was as long as an ordinary man and shaped in its head like a pig, also in body and insides like a pig.

The 7th of August during the night again a little child died and in the same hour a little boy was born, and the dead child buried at sea on the 8th.

The 11th and 12th we had a storm, which was not

very strong; however, it lasted forty-eight hours, so that all the sails had to be reefed, the rudder fastened, and the portholes boarded up, so that we were sitting in darkness, while the force of the waves struck through the porthole glass into the beds. Some people always have to vomit during every storm and strong, stiff winds.

On the 13th again a little boy was born. The 17th we had another storm, which was much stronger than the first for six or eight hours and blew the sea very high up. It lasted for one and one-half days and one and one-half nights, but towards the end was not so strong. Sails, rudder, holes, everything was hurriedly fastened up and left to wind and sea. After that it grew so calm that we did not get much from the spot during several days. During this time the people got well again from dizziness and vomiting. Then we got again strong wind from the side by which we made good headway.

On the 23rd of August again a child died and was buried at sea that evening.

The 26th, about 5 o'clock P. M., we passed by a mast standing fast, the point of which showed a half yard above the water, quite immovable and with ends of rope still on it. By good fortune our ship passed it at about a rod's distance. The Captain had just been drinking tea. Many people were very much frightened by this sight, because it was impossible for this mast to be standing on the bottom and it yet was immovable.

The 30th, the last mentioned man again lost a child and it was buried at sea that night. Then we

saw the first little fish with wings flying over the sea for two or three rods.

On September 6th in the morning the First Mate spiked a dolphin, which are quite different from what they are pictured in Germany. This day we had much heat and little breeze.

The 7th, another big fish was caught by the crew, which is called shark. The crew took a hook, which was very large and strong and of about a finger's thickness; to this they fasten one and one-half pounds of bacon. When they saw the fish near the ship's side they threw the hook with the bacon to him, which he swallowed at once and since the fish was very thick and five feet long and of great strength in his tail, as well in as out of the water, they drew him into the ship with a very hard pull, and drove back all the people, so that it should not hurt anybody, as he struck the deck so powerfully with his tail that if he should have hit any one against the legs, those would certainly have been struck in two. But after the ship's carpenter had cut off his tail with his axe after ten strokes, his strength was all gone. His mouth was so big that he might have swallowed a child of two years. The flesh the Captain ordered to be distributed to the delighted people.

On the 11th again a little child died, without anybody having noticed it until it was nearly stiff, and the 12th it was buried at sea.

The 13th a young woman, who had always been in poor health, died in childbirth and was buried at sea on the 14th, with three children, two of them

before and now the third the one just born, so that the husband has no one left now.

On the 16th in the morning about four o'clock a woman fifty years of age died; she had not been well during the entire trip and always repented having left her native place. She was buried at sea that same day.

And since the trip owing to the many changes of wind had lasted somewhat long and the greater number of the people had all consumed their provisions and their conception (imagination or expectation) was always set upon six weeks from land to land, they had gone on eating and drinking hard, from morning until late at night. Then at last they found it a great hardship to live on the ship's fare alone; thus the greater number so entirely lost courage that they never expected to get on land again.

On the 17th a small landbird, which they call the little yellow wag-tail in Germany, perched down several times on our ship, that the people could have a good look at him. This caused great rejoicing among them, that they clapped their hands with joy.

On the 18th a ship from Rhode Island came up to us. It had a cargo of sheep and other things, in order to sail to the West Indies, which our Captain spoke through a speaking tube; after they had made their arrangements they reefed their sails on both the ships, since there was but little running anyhow and our Captain had a boat lowered into the water and rowed with four seamen to their ship. When they had drunk the welcome together, he returned and brought with him half a bag of apples, a goose, a duck, and two chickens and distributed the beauti-

ful apples at once among the people. That caused great rejoicing to get such beautiful American apples on the high sea, and those which were still left over he threw among the people to grapple for them, and they fell in heaps over one another for the beautiful apples.

On the 19th, a strange looking fish came upon the ship. It was shaped like a large round table and had a mouth like two little shallow baskets. The same evening a large number of big fish came from the north towards our ship and when they had reached the ship they shot down into the deep, in front, behind and under the ship, so that one could not see one any more on the other side of the ship.

On the 20th again a young married woman died and was buried at sea the same night, and on this evening again came a large number of countless big fish from the north which one could see from high above the water and which did just like the former, that one could not see one on the other side of the ship. Thereupon we had a very heavy fall of rain that some people caught half kegs of water, only from the sails and from the Captain's cabin. This was followed by a powerful windstorm from the northwest. The sea rose up so high, that when one looked into it, it was just as if one were sailing among high mountains all covered with snow; and one mountain-wave rose over the other and over the ship so that the Captain and First Mate and the Cook were struck by a wave that they kept not a dry thread on them; and so much water poured into the ship that many people's beds, which were near to the holes were quite filled with water. The holes

were hastily boarded up, the rudder bound fast, and the ship was, with a very lowly-reefed sail set sideways to the wind, so that it should not roll so hard on both sides. The storm lasted the entire night with great violence, so that without any fear one could well see that it was not alone the seaworthiness of the ship that it could weather such powerful blows, but that it was preserved in the Almighty hand of the Lord, in order to make known to man his might.

To him be above all and for all the glory, Amen.

Not a human being remained on deck, but one sailor who was tied fast in order to watch by the rudder; all the rest, the Captain, the mates, the seamen crawled into their beds in their wet clothes, and the ship lay sideways to the wind always on its side so that it drew water all the time, which however, poured out again. At midnight the waves struck so hard against the portholes aft, that two boards sprang away from the windows where part of the people lay in sleep and slumber, and the water rushed in through the window, as big as it was, and straight into the beds, which caused a great terror to those who lay near the window. The water took away a board together with the rope; we all sprang up because the friends who lay near the window had not tied the board fast enough and the misfortune might have become a very great one. We took a woolbag, which was handy, and stopped the window up and the other one with the board, that was made fast again.

The ship's carpenter the next morning made a new window board. The storm also abated a little and thus the anxiety of the people grew a little less and

towards two o'clock in the afternoon it cleared, the wind ceased, and the portholes in the ship were opened, and it was beautifully calm weather. Then the Captain quickly ordered a kettle of rice to be boiled, in order that the people might get something warm to eat that day and night for their supper.

The 22nd at noon the ship lay as still as a house, then the people dried their clothes again. A good breeze sprang up at dinner time and blew all night, so stiff and so steady that one did not know in the ship that it was moving and yet made two miles and a half in one hour. At midnight the first soundings were made, 150 rods deep, and no bottom found.

The 23rd at nine o'clock another sounding was made and at 55 rods ground was struck, at eleven o'clock at 35 rods; shortly after, 20 rods; and yet we did not see any land, but were nearing the river [Delaware]. Then the people became very joyful on account of the good breeze and the ground being found. But the Captain did not trust himself to reach the river by daylight; since one could not see any land even, and at four o'clock in good wind he reefed the sails, and had the rudder tied fast, because there are many sandbanks in front and inside of the river.

Early in the morning all sails were set again and we headed for the river although the breeze was not very favorable and there was a heavy fog. Then again they made soundings and found 15 rods, and an hour later 7 rods. At twelve o'clock we saw the land with great rejoicing. Towards half past four we neared the river, for one is still six hours away from it when one gets in sight of it. Meanwhile, I and

the Captain caught sight of three boats sailing towards us; then the Captain cried, "These are the pilots or steersmen." One could hardly see them among the waves. Then he had all the sails set and was very glad that the pilots came to meet him The first one who came he did not accept, but when the second came, whom he knew, he took him into the ship at once, intending to sail into the river that same night, however, when we were on both sides against the land just in front of the river, suddenly from the southwest a storm broke loose such as we had never had yet. Then all had to help reef the sail, and the anchor was thrown out for the first time. There we lay fast, and the water had no longer such a great power because it had not more than 7 rods of depth. So we lay at anchor all night and the storm soon ceased.

The 25th, early in the morning, we weighed anchor, set sail, and tacked into the river. We saw there on both sides with so much joy as can easily be imagined, the land and the beautiful trees near the shore just as if they had been planted there.

On the 26th the before mentioned last born baby died and was buried in the river. That same day during the night we sailed into the narrows of the river, which is indeed very delightful to see, as wide as the Rhine where it is the widest, and on both banks are the most beautiful woods and groves and here and there houses stand on the banks which have fish nets hanging to dry in front of them.

The following day, the 27th, we passed New Castle with little breeze and in a very dense fog. This town lies forty miles distant from Philadelphia. Since we

had very little wind we had to sail mostly with the tide or with the current of the water, therefore we sailed during the 28th, and on the afternoon of the 29th we arrived safely in Philadelphia.

We were met by brethren and sisters in small boats who brought us fine bread, apples, peaches and other refreshments of the body, for which we gave thanks to the Highest publicly on the ship near the city, with singing and ringing shouts of delight. With many tears we praised and glorified the Lord for having preserved us in his Father's hand, and having carried us as on the wings of the eagle so that we all could meet again in love on this side of Eternity. See, dear children, brethren and friends, this is in short the description of our journey across the very big sea.

If I were to relate everything how things went with the people on the ship, there could be much more to write and it grieves my heart, when I remember that I so often told them when on the ship, I did not think that with all the unclean spirits of Hell there could be worse going on with cursing, swearing, blaspheming and beating [fighting], with over eating and drinking, quarreling day and night, during storm and weather, that the Captain often said he had taken many people over to this country already but had in all his days never yet seen anything like this.

He thought they must have been possessed by the demons [devils]. Therefore they made such a good picture of Hell, although to us they were all very kind, friendly and helpful and they held us all in great fear. The Captain often threatened he would order some of them to be bound to the mast and to

be whipped by his sailors from head to foot, still they remained bad.

Now I will report some more experiences in regard to the great danger and hardships of the journey to Pennsylvania.

The danger of this journey is this; if God should be against one and were willing to work His revenge and justice against us, no one, of course, could escape from him, as little as on land. Another danger would be if one went in an old bad ship upon the big sea, or with a ship master who was a tyrant or ignorant of sailing. But, if the Lord is not against us, which must first be settled, and one has a good ship and good sailors then the danger is not half so great as one imagines it. The Lord sustains Earth and Sea and one in and on the other, therefore also the vessels upon the sea and those who have gone up on high or down into the deep, and the eternal Jehovah has rescued them, they all shall come to him and shall praise the name of the Lord who does great wonders to the children of men.

The hardships, however, of this journey consist of many kinds and things; but for myself I have not to say of many, on the contrary of but few hardships on this trip; but others have seen and experienced a great deal, especially firstly when people start on this trip who are not obliged to enter upon so great a journey.

Secondly, when people start this enterprise without any reason, and sufficient deliberation and for the sake of material purposes.

Thirdly, when people break up to move and especially married people when they are not fully

agreeing with one another to begin such a long journey.

These three things are the main reasons of all difficulties on this long journey, for I can say with full truth that on six or seven ocean vessels I have heard of few people who did not repent their journey, although according to the declaration of the greatest number only extreme necessity had driven them to it. Although there were a good number of educated people among them, yet it was with them too, on account of the sad decline in their business affairs by the hard oppression of government, that caused them to leave or to become poor, and as poor people they could no longer help themselves from getting into debt and becoming beggars. Nevertheless they so much regretted having started on this journey that some became sick of it and were so furious that often they did not know what they were doing. Neighbors accused one another. Husband, wife, children fought bitterly. Instead of helping one another, they only added to the burden of each and made it every hour more unendurable, seeing that such people are obliged to be pent up together for thirteen, fourteen or fifteen weeks, what an amount of trouble must follow with such natures! Then one can never do what one wants on a ship. Then there are some who will consume all the food they have taken with them while the ship's fare is still good; this they will throw into the water. But later on when the ship's fare has long been lying in the salt, the water grows foul smelling, so that rice, barley, pease and such can no longer be boiled soft in it, then the people have devoured and drunk everything

they had and then necessity compels them to begin with the poorer stuff and they will find that very hard; and because the people live so closely together some will then begin to steal whatever they can get, especially things to eat and drink. Then there are such quantities of lice on the people, that many persons are compelled to louse for a whole day at the time, and if one does not do this very frequently they might devour one. This was a very great hardship for all the people and for me as well.

Now that we have safely arrived in this land and have been met by our own people in great love and friendship all the rest has been forgotten in a moment (so to speak), for the sake of the great joy that we had in one another. This hardship has lasted about nineteen weeks; then it was over, wherefore be all the glory to the Highest: Amen, yea; Amen!

For it does not rue us to have come here, and I wish with all my heart that you and your children could be with us; however, it cannot be and I must not urge you as the journey is so troublesome for people who are not able to patiently submit to everything, but often in the best there are restless minds, but if I could with the good will of God do for you children all, I assure you that I would not hesitate to take the trip once more upon me for your sake; not because one gets one's living in this land in idleness! Oh! no; this country requires diligent people, in whatever trade they may be—but then they can make a good living. There are, however, many people here, who are not particularly successful; as it seems that if some people were in Paradise it would go badly with them. Some are to be

blamed for it themselves; for when they come to this country and see the beautiful plantations; the number of fine cattle; and abundance in everything; and, knowing that they only just have come here too, then they want to have it like that at once and will not listen to any advice but take large tracts of land with debts, borrow cattle and so forth. These must toil miserably until they get independent. Well, what shall I say, so it is in the world, where always one is better off than the other. If a person wants to be contented here with food and shelter, he can under the blessing of God and with diligent hands get plenty of it. Our people are all well off; but some have more abundance than others, yet nobody is in want. What I heard concerning the people who do not have the money for the passage, surprised me greatly, how it goes with the young, strong people and artisans, how quickly all were gone, bricklayers, carpenters, and whatever trade they might have. Also old people who have grown children and who understand nothing but farm-labour, there the child takes two "freights" [fare for two] upon itself, its own and that of the father or of the mother for four years, and during that time it has all the clothing that is needed and in the end an entirely new outfit from head to foot, a horse or a cow with the calf. Small children often pay one freight and a half until they are twenty-one years old. The people are obliged to have them taught writing and reading and in the end to give them new clothes and present them with a horse or a cow.

There are few houses to be found in city or country

where the people are at all well off, that do not have one or two such children in them. The matter is made legal at the city hall with great earnestness. There parents and children often will be separated 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20 hours [in distance] and for many young people it is very good that they cannot pay their own freight. These will sooner be provided for than those who have paid theirs and they can have their bread with others and soon learn the ways of the country.

I will make an end of this and wish patience to whomsoever reads this. God be with you all, Amen.

JOHANNES NAAS.

N. B.—Now beloved children what more shall I write? It might perhaps arrange itself that you should come over here, then the writing would have an end, but if you do not come I shall some other time know more to write. Therefore, I will close for this time and commend you all with your dear children to the infinite love of God, who may lead and guide you himself that you do not enter upon the path of the sinners and do not sit where the scoffers sit, for that would not be good for you.

The acquaintances, Brother Settlers, outside of Gundrich, are in eternity; the others send hearty greetings: Brother Becker, Brothers Gantz, Gomrey, Ritter, Paul, sen., with Brother Mack, the old and the young Zeiglers, and his people, all send greetings and many other brethren and sisters who do not know you, and whom you do not know—all greet very heartily those who fear the Lord at Creyfelt.

Your in-love-faithfully-united father,

JOHN NAAS.

P. S.—The mother and Elizabeth greet you heartily, they will do so yet in their own hand. Do not forget to greet heartily all who ask news of us in love, even if their names were not mentioned.

When the vessel carrying Brother Naas arrived at Philadelphia he says they were "met by brethren and sisters," at the head of this band of welcomers was Alexander Mack. Whatever differences may have existed at Creyfelt between Brother Naas and Brother Libe were here in prayer and contrition dropped; and, accompanied by four families, Brother Naas went soon to Amwell, New Jersey, where he was elder of the congregation from its inception till his death, May 12, 1741. This congregation was most prosperous under his direction and was the means of sending a large number of able Brethren into the Lord's vineyard. He is buried at Amwell by the side of his wife and twenty children.(1)

In 1736, a delegation of Brethren from Germantown went to Ephrata, no doubt, for the purpose of effecting a reconciliation between the Ephrata congregation

(1) Doubtless his spiritual children. His grave is not marked. The number of children as given above as buried at Amwell is from a report made in 1786. It shows that the Amwell congregation was large.

under Beissel and the church. Beissel knew of their coming, but was absent in the Tulpehocken country, and did not return to meet the Brethren. The purpose of this visit was thus thwarted, although the members at Ephrata received them kindly. "Among the visitors (from Germantown) was an old and venerable preacher, who had but recently come from Germany; his name was Naas."(1)

Brother Naas was favorably impressed with much that he saw at Ephrata, especially the beautiful way of child-training, and the quiet life in the houses. He afterwards met Beissel for whom he seems to have cherished a kindly regard till his death.

At Amwell Brother Naas was visited by George Adam Martin, who says, "I was much edified by his conversation, and pleased and surprised at his great and sound mind, and the gifts which God had bestowed upon him."(2)

He was survived by his widow and children.(3) In 1755, 12th of the 8th month, Conrad Beissel wrote from Ephrata to Jacob Mohr, Sr., at Amwell, and in this letter he says, "Should I not also remember the beloved aged Sister Naas, who is still written in my holy book of remembrance? Oh! how glad I would be could I once more behold her face. I have to report to the same sister that the love, which I bear

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 91–92.

(2) *Ibid.*, pp. 249.

(3) His daughter, Elizabeth, married Hannes Landes, of the Conestoga congregation.

to her and the entire godly race is beyond all measure. This will probably be and remain a quite inexhaustible fountain for time and eternity."[1]

Bishop Naas was a scholarly man. He composed a number of hymns; two of which were included in *The Little Harp*, second edition, Baltimore, 1797, published by Samuel Sower, son of Bishop Christopher Sower. It is, of course, impossible to give a translation that will preserve the metre of the original.

THE LITTLE HARP.

The third string sounds beautifully and lovely of the power of God in the way of sanctification.

Melody.—True Father.

1. One thing grieves me much on the earth, that so few are saved: Oh, what am I to do, because so many people are dying, and going to miserable destruction. Who can help but be concerned?

2. Alas! how can it happen that so many go to ruin, alike from all ranks; A few enter into Life, but numberless are those that are outside. Oh, what can be the cause?

3. Very easily is this answered, for men full of envyings, live not as pleases God, but follow only their own lusts, as if they did not know better that the way to Heaven is narrow.

4. Oh, what vanity is to be seen! behold how proudly men pretend to go about, each wanting to be the greatest. Pride increases every day, and men strive only after great honors. Can one go thus to Heaven?

---

(1) From Manuscript Letter Book of Conrad Beissel, pp. 67-68. This valuable and important manuscript is now the property of the writer.

5. Eating, drinking, banqueting, dancing, playing, living always after the flesh,—can one enter into Heaven thus? Then woe unto the pious, scarcely shall they prosper!

6. Little do men care now for lying! What is more common than deceiving? Just as if it were an honored art! He who is in the right must be a loser. Men honor false affairs. It is money and favor that hold sway now.

7. How common is cursing, swearing, and terrible blaspheming against God, the Lord. Do not the children understand this a little? Therefore no wonder that men should be destroyed, that young and old should die in their sins and go down into hell.

8. To injure the honor of his neighbor, to persecute him, and to envy him is not this the common course? One informs against another, whatever he thinks he says of him; do not the most of the people thus?

9. What more do men pretend to care for, than to strive with all power after vain wealth and money, gold and silver, great treasures which destroy the souls of men. But this is what the whole world seeks and loves.

10. Those who possess these strange goods shall suffer grievously on account of them eternally in hell-fire. Although many know this, and their wicked consciences condemn them, yet they do not leave off from them.

11. He who strives rightfully after virtue, remains constant and faithful and endeavors to please God, he will be mocked at and derided by all. One sees this happen every day without any fear or hesitation.

12. Oh, thou child of man, turn thee! behold how

Christ himself can teach thee! Look upon his acts, upon his ways. He is the truth, the way, and the life! Only be willing to grant him proper attention,—no better advice can be given thee.

13. Dost thou wish to build for thyself in Heaven and expect with confidence a desired blessing,—mark well what is pleasing to God; be humble before all men; humility is thy basis.

14. Without the true love on the earth, no man will be saved. He who loves God rightly loves his neighbor also. He who wishes to exercise love rightly abstains from deceiving any one and provoking God.

15. No one may follow his own lusts, but must overcome his wicked desires, if he will enter into Heaven. He who would exercise his own wantonness, must remain out of Heaven, for according to this, the reckoning will be made.

16. To suffer poverty gladly and willingly and not to avoid persecution is the food of the elect, to praise God out of a pure heart, to suffer willingly all pain; happy is he who has learned this.

17. Dost thou wish to be saved? Then live rightly on the earth; keep Thyself in the *small* company; then after this short life, God will give thee an eternal one, —will take thee up into His kingdom.

18. Ah, well! so may it always be, and may I always do, as God wills on this earth. Lord, wilt thou then strengthen me in thoughts, words, and deeds that I may be ever blessed! . [JOHN NAAS.]

The fifth string sounds of meekness and humility which are learned of Christ.

Melody.—The Bride of the Soul.

1. Savior of my soul grant that I choose Thee and Thy cross in this life, and that I may surrender myself wholly to Thee. Grant that I choose this, Savior of my soul.

2. Then is my soul led to the light; Thy whole blessed life went through many tribulations, through the way of sorrows: through this shall I also come to the true light.

3. Reach me Thy hand, I am not able to follow Thee rightly, Oh Jesus, without the balm of Thy soul. Therefore reach Thy hand to him who cannot stand.

4. Oh Lord, Jesus Christ, how is Thy light, so far away in these dark times; send me Thy light, send me Thy light, Oh Lord, Jesus Christ.

5. I am encompassed about by the spirit of the world, which knows well how to cunningly disguise itself as an angel of light. Save me, Thy child, from this base rabble.

6. Oh Jesus, look within, that Thy spirit alone may rule my whole life, willing to go with Thee in death, because time passes away and nothing shall remain.

7. Jesus, Thou, the Word, remainest forever and ever; through Thee is everything created. What Heaven and earth embraces, all shall pass away; but Thou alone shalt remain forever.

8. Ah, grant me grace that I may follow Thy path with a lengthening of mine, and endure all in Thee. Send me grace that it may guide me.

9. Alas, I am ashamed of myself when I consider Thee, how Thou hast suffered for me, and hast overcome the world, the devil, and death. I am ashamed when I consider Thee.

10. Because I am so often indifferent as a wild animal in the forest, I run in the throngs of the world. I have my course not turned toward Heaven. This makes me afraid as often as I think thereon.

11. Jesus, I beg Thee, come again, show me in spirit Thy wounds, then shall I find the salvation of old. Come once again, Jesus, I pray.

12. Ah, make me hasten through the arrows of Thy love. Let my heart be again wounded. Let me feel the pains of the arrows of Thy love. Make me hasten.

13. Oh Lord, Jesus Christ, is it scarcely any wonder, that so many souls go wrong, and reach the thought, as Thou, Thyself hast spoken: "My Lord comes not yet"?

14. When Thou art silent things go as they will; men follow their own willfulness; they fulfill the desires of the flesh; when Thou art silent things go as they will.

15. Oh God give Thy judgment to Thy Son, who is also a king on the earth. Through this shall all Satan's craftiness soon be destroyed,—through Thy righteous judgment.

16. Oh Jesus, call out of their strange bondage many souls which honor Thee. Oh Lord, if Thou wouldst convert them, that they may yet come out of their strange bondage.

17. Oh Lord, Thou alone hast the power. Vindicate Thy glory. Dearest King, Jesus Christ, it has, indeed, cost Thee thy blood. Alas! Therefore vindicate Thy honor! Oh Lord, Thou alone hast the power.

[JOHN NAAS.]

3. Christian Libe.

By a strange coincidence a man who never saw America is directly responsible for the organization of the first congregation in America, on Christmas day, 1723. That man was Christian Libe, a native of Epstein, Germany. He was early united with the church of the Brethren and called to preach the Gospel to the Brethren in the Marienborn district; Abraham Duboy, of the same place, being his assistant.

Persecution in this part of Germany drove the members to Creyfelt. But Elder Libe became a missionary to the persecuted Germans and Swiss. Christian Libe was an eloquent, gifted evangelist, and his voice was heard all along the Rhine Valley in defense of the faith he loved. He pressed into Switzerland and boldly preached the religion he loved in the city of Basle. He was arrested and asked to renounce his faith. This he refused to do.

He was sent to the galleys, and had to work the galling oars by the side of criminals, for two years. He was then ransomed and came to Creyfelt, where he was under the senior eldership of John Naas. This was about 1722.

Here he was active in the work of the Lord and preached the most eloquent sermons. But his zeal, like that of many others was not born of knowledge, and he was intolerant and oppressive. His action in the Häcker case has been already noted. He began to antagonize and provoke Elder Naas, and

at a church council an open rupture occurred.[1] It is to be inferred that Libe's popularity was such in this case that he was able to win the congregation to himself, and Elder Naas withdrew from the Creyfelt congregation. That Brother Naas did not hold resentment is shown by the fact that when, in 1733, he wrote to his son who was at Creyfelt, he sent his Christian and brotherly greeting to Brother Libe.

In August, 1723, news came to the scattered Brethren in Pennsylvania that Christian Libe had arrived in Philadelphia. People from the Schuylkill region came to Germantown to hear him preach. Some came as many as forty miles to hear the widely-celebrated preacher. Libe was not in America, but Peter Becker invited these men and women to the meeting of the Brethren and taught them the doctrines of the church. They returned, and then the Brethren at Germantown went up to Martin Urner's place on the Schuylkill and six persons applied for baptism. Their request was granted on Christmas Day. So it was the influence of Christian Libe's preaching that brought the first converts to the church in America, and that led to the organization of the Germantown congregation.

Christian Libe's eldership at Creyfelt was not successful. His zeal waned, the congregation languished,

(1) See page 49.

persecution began to be felt, members were cast into dungeons, and the membership removed or fell away. Elder Libe became a merchant, and eventually a wine merchant, and at last, in violation of his own principle, as announced in the Häcker case, he married out of the congregation. Thus the most flourishing German congregation, and the most eloquent evangelist alike passed away.

4. Stephen Koch.

Among the Creyfelt members who came with Peter Becker to Germantown in 1719, no one affords a better illustration of the mystical influences that saddened and retarded the growth of the church than Stephen Koch.

Before 1715, he was a minister at Creyfelt, but not an ordained elder. With the more consecrated element of the congregation he engaged in active evangelistic work, traveled much, preached fearlessly, lived nobly. When he came to America, he allowed the spirit to decline. In 1723, he was at the first love feast, a humble member; but the collected membership chose Becker to conduct the services. Whether this in any way affected the zeal of Brother Koch is not known. Perhaps he already had developed such traits of mysticism as to render his leadership unwise. At all events, the Ephrata community had a charm for him.

In August, 1726, the Brethren at Germantown

paid a fraternal visit to the Conestoga congregation, then in full fellowship, and presided over by Conrad Beissel. On this visitation Henry Traut and Stephen Koch left the party and visited Jacob Stuntz.

Stuntz came to America in 1720 with Beissel and Steifel. Stuntz paid Beissel's passage to Boston. He also, in 1721, accompanied Beissel to the wilderness and lived a solitary life. About 1724, Stuntz sold the house in which he and Beissel lived in order to recover the money advanced to Beissel on coming to America. This caused Stuntz to suffer the displeasure of Beissel. When Beissel joined the church, Stuntz also became a member. Stuntz married, and under the censure of having married a near relative, Beissel placed him under the ban.

To restore Stuntz to fellowship was the purpose of Traut and Koch's visit. In this they were successful. But in doing so they incurred the censure of Beissel who claimed that he alone had the power to restore Stuntz to the communion of his brethren. Beissel, therefore, not only renewed his opposition to Stuntz, but censured these brethren as well.

In December, 1728, the Conestoga congregation divided and Beissel organized the Seventh Day Society.

In the meantime Stephen Koch lived a solitary life at Ephrata and gradually yielded to the influence of the Pietists on the Wissahickon. From this time

he began to have ecstatic visions, one of which he reported to John Lobach at Creyfelt who published it in *Geistliche Fama.* It was reprinted by Christoph Saur in 1748[1] and is here given in full.

Stephen Koch's Vision.[2]

"Saturday, December 9, 1732, &c. When I awoke early in the morning before daylight, I was much depressed in mind as I considered the uncertainty of this miserable life, and how it is surrounded with so much unrest and so forth. These thoughts moved me to deep sighs and longing for eternal rest and happiness. During this meditation and yearning for rest I was transported out of myself, and it appeared to me that I found myself on a journey to some one, to whom I would have to come that same day. On the way I strayed and lost myself. While I was yet looking about me, there came up to me a beautiful man, the like of whom I had never seen in this world. When he came near me he inquired how I had come there. I said: I was to have visited a sick man and lost my way. Then he was very friendly to me, and said if I would go with him he would take me to a more beautiful place than I had ever seen before. I said: Yes, I would come with him. Then I suddenly came to myself again. Oh God! who is that? or,

(1) Several / old and newer / stories of apparitions / of / spirits, / and something / of the / state of the soul / after Death. / Besides several / visions of some people who are still in life. / Second enlarged edition. / Printed by Christoph Saur, / 1748. /

(2) Pp. 24-31 of above volume. The Third Vision; which Stephen Koch in Germantown had in 1732 and which he has described to his friend Johann Lobach *Messerschmitt* at Creyfelt and which has been published in print, *anno* 1736, in Germany, in the *Geistliche Fama*, XX selection.

where will it go to? But I composed myself again, and showed my willingness to go along. Then he said I should give him my hands, and should place my feet on his, and close my eyes a little while. I did so.

"Then it seemed as if in a gentle breeze we were wafted through space. And he brought me to the brink of a beautiful stream of water, which was so wide that I could not well see across it and the scenery about it was uncommonly fair and lovely and I felt so well that all the days of my life I never experienced anything like it. When I was wonderingly gazing at this beautiful, large river he asked me what sort of a water that was. I said I knew it not. He told me the name of it, but the name sounded strange to me and I could not remember it. At last he asked if I wanted to go across. I answered: Yes. Then he took hold of me as before and carried me across swiftly.

"We came into a country the beauty and loveliness of which no man can tell. Yes; I was quite astonished at all I saw and heard there. For I heard from a distance the sound of innumerable voices of people and all manner of instruments blended in such harmonies, that it sounded right lovely towards me. These words I heard: 'He is the only one to whom alone belongs the glory!' After this he brought me to a beautiful city, the streets of which were of pure gold. There I saw innumerable hosts of people, all clothed in white. I gazed at them all in wonderment, it seemed to me as if they all were swaying in space and praising God. Yes, they were floating up and down and

continually praising and glorifying Him, who lives from Eternity to Eternity. And wondering at what I heard and saw, I thought to myself, Oh! that is an eternal uprising and sinking down again in the bottomless sea of God's love! Oh, how calm! Oh, how well!

"Meanwhile he took me and carried me upon a beautiful, high mountain, and said, 'This is the Mount of Zion, the castle of David!' Then I looked about me, as far as I could see, and beheld a fair, even valley with an innumerable crowd of people, all clothed in white, floating up and down and praising the eternal and good God in an inexpressible way, and in such sweet melodies that no man can describe them. And I was quite in an ecstasy at all this, that I heard and saw. After seeing and hearing this for a while he took me back again to the before-mentioned city, and when I looked upwards I saw a wondrously shining firmament. Altogether it was incomparably beautiful and indescribably glorious and unspeakably fair.

"Since I knew no one among all these people, I sighed, Oh God! If I only could see someone that I know. Then some one came as if floating towards me and spake to me in a very friendly manner. 'Ay, where comest thou from, in thy old body and old garments?' I was frightened, and answered, This person has brought me here. He asked me if I knew him? I said, No. He said, 'I am Hochmann (who died at Schwarzenau). Behold now, here is the glorious city of God, the peaceful realm of Zion and the blessed company of the souls who are saved, of whom thou hast heard me speak before

this, when I was yet with you. Here is the earth, of which Jesus says, that the meek shall possess it! Here is the contrary of the old world! For the souls who follow the Lord Jesus through cross and sorrow patiently unto the end, enter this blessed place of rest.' After these words he seemed to be flying away from me! But I was in very deep thought and drew a sigh and wished that I could see some one else I had known in life.

"Then again I saw a person come flying toward me, who said to me in a friendly manner, 'Stephen, how camest thou here in thy old garments and thy old body?' I answered, This person has brought me here. She asked me if I knew her. I said, No. She said, 'I am the Benzin (an aged widow) who formerly dwelled among you (she died in Germantown). Seest thou, now, I am in this place of blissful rest, whereof I have so often talked with thee. In those days I felt often a little of this place, when I sank my soul down in God [when I absorbed myself in God]; but it never lasted long and I became again distracted, and in new unrest had to seek for rest once more, until I entered into this place of rest and peace, yes; of eternal well-being, where there is no more change nor dread of a change. To the love- and praise-worthy God be glory in eternity.' And thus she was lifted up from me and rose upwards towards the beautiful firmament so far that I no longer could see her. As long as I could hear her voice I heard unspeakable words in praise of God.

"After this I turned my eyes towards the large hosts, which still as before were floating up and

down and praising God in beautiful harmony and in such words as a mortal tongue cannot tell. I thought: Oh! this is the unfathomable love of God, a continual uprising and down-sinking in the eternal peace of God! Oh how calm! Oh how well was it with me! I cannot tell and relate it! Meanwhile the beautiful man stood always beside me, and after all this he reminded me that I would have to leave again, which indeed grieved me; yet I resigned myself, and said: I should like to see the opposite of this blessed place; namely, the place where those go who live so wickedly and ill. He answered, 'Thou shalt see it.' And he took me as before, and brought me rapidly to a big sheet of water, which looked gloomy and miserable. The whole country appeared to me desolate. I was quite still and he said nothing.

"He also brought me across the water into a desolate country. In this neighborhood I heard pitiful howling, even so that my heart was grieved.

"After this he brought me to a city and placed me on a tower which was over the city gate. There I saw an innumerable crowd of people in clothes of many colors. The whole country seemed to be shrouded in a sort of evening twilight gloom, so that one could barely see things. I saw and heard their labor. It was unblessed and full of unrest. Their crying was incomprehensibly crazed and confused. What one made, the others would break up; and there was a continual strife and unquietness among them all. There were some who wanted to straighten out legal cases, but it only grew worse and worse, so that I became quite weary over this unblessed screaming and restless work that I saw and heard. I begged

him then, to take me from hence as I could no longer endure to see this direful condition.

"Then he took me in the same manner as before and brought me to the brink of the fair river opposite the beautiful country where he had taken me first. When I got there I was feeling well again! He asked me if I knew who he was. I said, No. He asked, if I had not before this heard or read of people in Old England, called Roscrucians? I answered that I had never read anything about them, but I had heard people tell that there had been such persons who could make gold. Then he told me very kindly he was one of them, and I should go with him to see his house which was full of gold and precious stones. I gladly went with him. It was exceedingly fine.

"Then he asked if I now wished to return home with him? I said, Yes. Again he took my hand and brought me into the neighborhood of Germantown into a certain lane. And there I opened my eyes and it was bright daylight, and all our folks were up already, and I was there alone and felt indeed that I was yet in my old body and in the old garments. These things have made such a deep impression on me that since then I have often sighed deeply, wishing: Oh God! let me by thy grace in Jesus Christ be prepared in such a manner, that when some day I depart from this vale of tears, I may join the blessed in that place of rest and there praise and glorify Thee forever and ever! Amen!"

In this ecstatic state his mind was possessed of strange ideas. He was seized with great spiritual unrest. He began to question his conversion. He says,

"The deeper I searched, the more I became aware that in my deepest nature I was still lacking that true change of heart, without which the peace of God which passeth all understanding, could not reveal itself in me. From this I could well see that there was nothing else for me to do but to repent anew and be heartily converted unto God. Wherefore I constantly prayed to God, that for Jesus Christ's sake he would graciously regard me, and cleanse me from all my transgressions."(1)

Two additional circumstances added to his mental agony. He was betrothed to a widow and the solitary life of the Pietists caused him to fear that marriage meant the loss of the highest religious experience. At the same time he suffered great physical pain from *calculi*, "so that I often lay two or three days in the greatest extremity, and had death ever before me."

From the horrors of this combination of agonies he declares he was miraculously delivered in the following manner:

"On the 3rd of May, 1735, at Germantown, as late at night I went into the orchard, it being bright moonlight, there came to me a delightful odor, partly from the blossoms of the trees, partly from the flowers in the garden, whereat I sobbing spoke to God: 'O, my God, everything is in its order and contributes to Thy glory and honor, save I alone! For I am created and called by a holy calling to love Thee above every-

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 97.

thing, and to become a pleasant savor unto the glorifying of Thy name. Now, however, I behold the contradiction, for I not only do not love Thee as I ought, but am also become an evil smell in Thy nostrils. Alas, unfortunate that I am! I gladly would love God, the highest Good, but I cannot. The world with all its glories cannot satisfy my sad spirit; for I ever see before my eyes spiritual and bodily death.'

"While I lamented thus to God it seemed to me as though suddenly a flame of God's love struck into me, which entirely illumined me inside, and I heard a voice say to me: 'Yet one thing thou lackest.' I asked, What is it then? The answer was, 'You do not know God and never have really known him.' I said, Yes; that is so; but how shall I attain to it? Then it seemed as though I was beside myself. When I came to myself again, I felt an inexpressibly pleasing love to God in my heart; and on the other hand all anxiety with all the temptations of the unclean spirits had vanished. Yea: it seemed as if all my transgressions were pardoned and sealed, and day and night there was nothing else in my heart but joy, love, and praise to God."

The intensity of this rhapsody of the midnight soul can best be appreciated from his words as cited above. To Alexander Mack the younger he made known his spiritual experience and aroused him to unusual zeal. They soon lived in the same house.[1] With them lived Henry Haecker. To Brother Henry Kalckglasser, also a preacher, he made known his wonderful

(1) They moved together April 12, 1736.

awakening. The effect of all this was great unrest in the Germantown congregation. At about this time Stephen Koch saw in a vision a beautiful virgin come into the meeting. She preached wonderfully concerning sanctification and a life of virginity. In the other half of the house occupied by the three single brethren lived Valentine Mack and his wife. Soon they, too, were aroused.

Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, was in his grave. His wise counsel was missed. The influence of Elder Peter Becker could not stem the rising tide of mystical and Beisselian influences. A number of the congregation decided to remove to Ephrata. With this exodus of members on March 27, 1739, went Stephen Koch.

The remainder of his life was spent among the single members of the Ephrata community. He was a victim to the spirit of religious unrest that at this time swept German America. The Germantown church could not receive his teachings. His position naturally led him to Ephrata. Here he lived many years, under the name of Brother Agabus. The records of Ephrata contain these words: "Brother Agabus in the Lord fell asleep the 7th of July in the year 1763. He was already an Old Warrior of Jesu Christi, in Germany, with the Pious, where also my parents were too. He is well, can we say in Peace elevated?"

5. Abraham Duboy.

Abraham Duboy was an eminent preacher both in Germany and in Pennsylvania. He was born at Epstein in 1679, was brought up in the Presbyterian (Reformed) faith, and joined the church in the Marienborn district in 1712. Three years later, owing to persecution, he fled to Schwarzenau and was here called to the ministry, as assistant to Elder Mack. He had a great love for the founder, and when, in 1729, Alexander Mack came to America, Brother Duboy resolved to accompany him. This, for some reason now unknown, he did not do. In 1732, however, he took passage on the ship *Pink John and William, of Sunderland*, Constable Tymperton, Master, from Rotterdam, and landed at Philadelphia, Oct. 17, of the same year.[1]

He resided some years on the Perkiomen Creek in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania. In 1738 he was called to the Great Swamp congregation, where he remained a faithful preacher until death claimed him, March 21, 1748.

He never married. He was a modest, zealous and earnest man. Like Koch he had a number of remarkable visions. Among these was a strange presentiment of his own death. One morning when he arose he informed the family with whom he lived that the time of his departure had come. He dressed himself in a

(1) *Pennsylvania Archives*. Second series, Vol. XVII, p. 72.

shroud which he had prepared for the occasion, and asked the family to join with him in singing Johann Arndt's beautiful hymn: "*Nun fahr ich hin mit Freuden, ins rechte Vaterland,*" etc.

After the singing he delivered a fervent prayer and, reclining on a couch, he quietly breathed his last.

6. John Henry Kalckglasser.

John Henry Kalckglasser was born in 1696. He came to the mother church at Schwarzenau. He frequently assisted Alexander Mack in the public services, although he was not an ordained elder. He was not a gifted speaker, and was much given to retirement and meditation. He married in Europe, and his wife, Agnes Margaretha, accompanied him to Germantown in 1729. They formed a part of Mack's company, from which I infer they were also exiles in Holland between 1719 and 1729.

In Germantown he purchased forty-two acres of ground[1] and, no doubt, engaged in farming. After the death of Alexander Mack, Kalckglasser was the oldest preacher in the congregation. This means that he was longest in the ministry. He became infatuated with the experiences of Stephen Koch and on one occasion asked Koch about his latest experiences. Stephen Koch related at length his ecstatic experiences. This greatly moved Brother Klackglasser. He said to Koch, "O, I know your condition very

(1) Rupp's *30,000 names*, p. 473.

well, for I was in the same state a long while; but through the various occurrences one meets therein, I fell away from it again. Now I will learn anew to walk before God."[1]

Especially was Brother Kalckglasser carried away with Koch's views on celibacy. Although he was a married man, he longed for the celibate state and in his public discourses at the Germantown meetings he delivered new and strange doctrines. He even declared he was not truly converted.

His brethren remonstrated in vain. They reminded him of his long years of service as a preacher. They recalled the many he had immersed. The power of mysticism was upon him. With others he attended meetings in the forest near Germantown. Then they walked the streets hand in hand, attracting much attention. Many of their meetings were held at night. Finally, in 1839, a company of these brethren and sisters, in all about eighteen, went to Ephrata and joined the Seventh Day Society under Beissel.

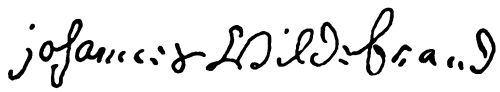
Usually when members of the German Baptist Brethren joined the Ephrataites Beissel rebaptized them. In the case of Kalckglasser, however, this was not done. "The Venerable Henry Kalckglasser, one of their (Brethren's) first teachers, was left undisturbed at Ephrata until his death in his baptism received from them." It is also true that after this

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*. p. 100.

when some left the Ephrata Society and joined the Brethren they were not rebaptized. It was held, although not without protest, that the trine immersion received at Ephrata should be valid for the Brethren.

At Ephrata he was known as Brother Joel. The register of the society says, "Brother Joel did in the Lord fall asleep 1748 (Feb. 29): his age was fifty-two years. He led in his doings and life a lowly, retired, fervent course of life. What he experienced, gave he never unto day. His death was as if he only cast off his outer shell."(1) His wife died at the same place in 1758.

7. John Hildebrand.



What a history could be written of the twenty-three who sat at the first love feast in America!

At the head of the Lord's table was Peter Becker, near him was John Hildebrand. Then along the Lord's table sat the others who had crossed the stormy sea together in 1719 and now for the first time were celebrating in America the ordinances for which they suffered and endured so much in Europe. No doubt at the end of the table farthest from Peter Becker sat the six new ones, who that day had been

(1) *Ephrata Registers*, p. 19. See his autograph on the list of the ship Allen's passengers, p. 90.

baptized and to whom this was the first sacred meeting in the holy family of the Lord.

Hildebrand was born in 1679. He lived a quiet and peaceful life in Germantown. But, for some reason, the Brethren did not advance him to the ministry. This is all the more to be wondered at when one recalls that Valentine Mack was married to his daughter, Maria. This daughter early joined the Virgin Sisters at Ephrata. She soon after left Ephrata and returned to Germantown where she was married. In 1739 she followed her husband to Ephrata once more. Here she was known as Sister Abagail. This resulted in John Hildebrand's removal also. And after 1739 his days were passed at Ephrata. His wife died in 1757 and he died in 1765.

In 1728 there was a rupture at Ephrata and a number of the followers of Beissel formed a new congregation. They were inclined to return to the Brethren and John Hildebrand and Daniel Eicher were appointed preachers. This congregation finally was merged into the Conestoga congregation, and Hildebrand was with them until he removed to Germantown, and was a preacher of the church there till 1738.

His closing years were not happy ones. In 1741 he drew up a lengthy protest against applying the title "Father" to Beissel. Beissel appealed to the congregation and, by a large majority, he was confirmed in the title. But at Beissel's death the members declared they had voted the title against their better judgment.

and hence that designation was not put upon his gravestone.

John Hildebrand was an ascetic man. He even ate his bread by weight. He was much influenced by the writings of Jacob Boehm. With Beissel he had many controversies. At the time of the Zinzendorf Synods Spangenberg came to Ephrata to proselyte. Against the Moravians Hildebrand wrote a lengthy paper in which he endeavored to prove that the married state originated in the fall of man. He was a delegate to several of these synods. He was older in the spiritual life than Beissel, and felt that his experience should be counted in his favor. He was the author of at least four printed works, of 45, 44, 20 and 159 pages respectively, three of which were published by Saur in 1743. They relate to the Ephrata Society and denounce the Moravians. The fourth was published by Saur in 1747. Beissel, however, never entrusted great services to him; and, neglected, lonely, and no doubt unhappy, perhaps discontented, he passed quietly away.

8. Andreas Frey.

When Andreas Frey came to this country is not known. An Andreas Frey did come on the ship *Samuel*,[1] 1733. This has been by some regarded as the subject of this sketch. Such, however, is not the case.

In March, 1728, there was a revival at Falckner's Swamp. On the eighth of the month Conrad Beissel,

(1) *Pennsylvania Archives*, Vol. XVII, p. 75.

still in partial fellowship with the Brethren, baptized eleven persons. In May five others joined at this place. Over this congregation, at its organization this same year, Andreas Frey was made elder.

This action of Beissel's led to a controversy. The Germantown congregation went to Falckner's Swamp and held a meeting at the house of John Henry Hageman. This meeting convinced many of the new members that the Germantown Brethren were right in their opposition to the Ephrata (then called Conestoga) followers of Beissel. Among this number was Andreas Frey, the elder. A long controversy was the result. Finally it was agreed to have a meeting (council) at the house of William Frey to determine who was right.

The Ephrataites secretly sent six emissaries to Falckner's Swamp in advance of the council to prejudice the new members against the Germantown Brethren. The sequel of all this was a failure on the part of the Ephrataites to attend the council.[1] Andreas Frey and the members who believed with him that the Brethren from Germantown were right now declared openly against the Beissel party. Over the others Michael Wohlfurth was made elder. He soon resigned in disgrace and threw himself at Beissel's feet for mercy. Following him was Elder John Landes who held the office just six weeks.

(1) This is one of the earliest councils in the Brotherhood. Two old congregations were to meet and the new members were to be judges.

Elder Frey, however, remained steadfastly a member of the Brethren and was sent as a delegate to the famous Zinzendorf Synods. Here he took such an

Andreas Freyen
seine
DECLARATION,
oder:
Erklärung,
Auf welche Weise, und wie er
unter die sogenannte
Herrnhuter Gemeine ge-
kommen;
Und warum er wieder davon abgegangen,
Nebst der Beweg-Ursache, warum er subsistirt
Germanton gedruckt bey Christoph Saur,
1758.

Title Page of Andreas Frey's Declaration.

active part that he was finally chosen one of the three trustees of the New Church-in-the-spirit. For a full

account of this see the chapter on the "Origin of Annual Meeting."

Zinzendorf used his persuasive powers upon Frey and eventually won him over to the Moravian cause. Frey sailed to Europe with other Moravians and was active in his efforts to advance their cause.

He was not long with them until he began to question their faith and their practices. He left them and returned to the Brethren and after humbling himself he was again received into fellowship.

In 1748 he issued from the Saur press a volume of 88 pages, the title of which is: "*Andreas Freyen seine Declaration oder: Erklärung auf welche Weise und wie er unter die sogenannte Herrnhuter Gemeine gekommen,*" etc.[1]

In this work he denounces the Moravians unmercifully. The work caused a sensation. It was rumored that Frey had repented his declaration against them; and, in 1750, he published a notice in Saur's paper in which he says he has not revoked his declaration against the Moravians nor would he do so.

9. *Other German Pioneers.*

Lack of space precludes a fuller discussion of many of the earliest Brethren, who have largely influenced the development of the church.

Among the first members at Germantown was John

[1] Copy in the library of the Author.

Henry Traut. He was a member at Creyfelt, and was active in the work of the church. He came with Peter Becker's party in 1719.

On the first missionary tour in America Henry Traut was a leading spirit. He was, next to Peter Becker, the leader of the members, from which fact, combined with other evidences, I am inclined to believe he was a deacon of the church. He accompanied Stephen Koch on an important mission in 1727; for an account of which see life of Koch. He lived a quiet, godly life, rich in deeds of love, and died Jan. 4, 1733. His loss was deeply felt by the entire congregation.

Heinrich Holsapple, George Balser Gautz, Jeremiah Traut, Balser Traut, and John Jacob Price are also among the worthies of the early church. Brother Price was an active preacher in Germany, traveling with John Naas. They were successful missionaries. Brother Price came to America with Peter Becker's party, was at the first love feast, and, in 1721, settled on a large tract of land on Indian Creek in Lower Salford Township in Montgomery County, Pennsylvania.

This Jacob Price is the father of all the Prices in the Brotherhood. His family has been a remarkable one Many of them have been and are preachers of ability in the church. Their history is interwoven with the activities of the Brotherhood from its beginning. A fuller account of them will be found in subsequent chapters of this volume.

All in all, these early leaders were godly, fearless, able men. Most of them were not only preachers of power but writers of important works and composers of fervent hymns. They took the infant church to their hearts, transported it to the free soil of Pennsylvania, and planted it far and wide in the hearts and lives of their children and of as many others as their limited opportunities in a wilderness would permit. They did their work, and did it well. Peace to their ashes!

CHAPTER VII.—The Germantown Congregation.

Germantown, mother congregation in America, what a history is thine!

There's a stormy voyage in 1719, a landing at Philadelphia, a procession to Germantown, a dispersion of the twenty families of German Baptist Brethren, and in 1722 a revival spirit; public preaching collects the scattered souls; in 1723, a strange thrill enraptured the membership at news of the coming of Elder Libe; people from the Schuylkill country travel to the city of Philadelphia to hear this man whose eloquence had made him famous in two continents; a meeting is held at Peter Becker's house; a missionary visit is undertaken; and six souls ask for baptism—this is the beginning of the church in America.

Doubly memorable Christmas Day, 1723! Christ's anniversary and the date of the birth of His church in America! There is an activity at Peter Becker's house in Germantown. The spindles are still; and the voice of praise is raised. Six persons, Martin Urner, his wife Catherine, Henry Landis, his wife, Frederick Lang, and John Mayle, all from what is now the Coventry district, were in the midst of seventeen members, and they were preparing to hold the first immersion in the church in America. There was no ordained minister this side of the Atlantic. The

members hold a council. Peter Becker is chosen to act as elder. The preliminary examination is held, prayer is offered, and then these twenty-three souls walk out into the winter afternoon, in single file, headed by Peter Becker. They journey to the Wissahickon Creek. The group kneels. Overhead the solemn sentinels of the forest fastness—the pines and hemlock—are stilled. The ice-bound stream utters strangely solemn music. Curious eyes from the Kelpianites rest reverently upon the group. Peter Becker's voice breaks the stillness. The prayer is ended. The six candidates for membership in God's family are led one by one into the water and are baptized by trine immersion. The procession returns to Germantown. They assembled in the house of John Gomorry. It is evening now. The old-time tallow-dips are lighted. They gather around a long table, a hymn is sung, and in the silent evening hour, with no witness but God, and curious children, these people begin the observation of the ordinances of God's house on Christmas evening, 1723. The sisters on one side, the brethren on the other, arise and wash one another's feet. Then they eat the Lord's Supper, pass the kiss of charity with the right hand of fellowship, partake of the holy communion, sing a hymn, and go out. It is night! But under God's guidance their acts have been repeated in a thousand twilights, in all parts of this country in all the years that have come and gone; and, please God, we will

Wissahickon Creek, Place of First Baptism.

repeat them again and again until He shall say, "It is enough. Come up higher."

Let us look yet more closely at this company. Who are they? Six are already named. They are babes in Christ. But the other seventeen are warriors of two continents. They had a remarkable career. At the head sat Peter Becker, pioneer preacher in America. He could have told of blessed meetings in Creyfelt and of sermons by Elders Mack, Libe, and Naas. He is not a gifted preacher, but he leads the sacred music that fills the dimly-lighted room with echoes of heaven's choir. His prayers are eloquent and overmastering. He loved God and talked with Him in the full faith of an expectant child of the King.

To his right sat John Jacob Price, who had prayed and preached in the Rhine Valley with Elder Naas. He was not large in body, but fervent in spirit. There was Stephen Koch, John Hildebrand, Henry Traut and Henry Holsapple, of whom the reader has already heard. They were rich in experiences with God's people in Germany. There was John Gomorry, in whose house they sat, near him were Jeremiah and Balser Traut, Daniel Ritter, John Kempfer, Jacob Koch, and George Balser Gans, all sterling men of God.

To the left of Peter Becker sat Maria Hildebrand, whose daughter was destined to wed a son of founder Mack. By her side sat Magdalene Traut, Anna

Gomorry, and Joanna Gans. Seated in their midst were the six new members,—twenty-three in all. Who can lift the veil and record this hour's holy service? What thoughts, what emotions, what religious experiences, what covenanted pledges, what rejoicings, moved lips and heart and head! To God only is known the ecstasy of that communion. "Ye know not now; but ye shall know hereafter." Blessed beginning of the church in America; may her latter days be like her first!

The congregation was now organized. The spirit of the Master was upon them. The next autumn the congregation decided to undertake a general visitation to all their brethren in the whole country. October 23, 1724, they started. Their first visit was to Brother John Jacob Price on the Indian Creek. Thence they traveled to Falckner's Swamp and held services at the house of a Brother Albertus, where a meeting was held with breaking of bread; so also at Oley, and then at the Schuylkill (Coventry). Here on November 8, they also held a love feast, no doubt at the house of Martin Urner. At this place two persons were baptized. These two were Peter Heffly and Owen Longacre, Andrew Sell had formerly been baptized at Germantown. There were thus nine members at Coventry.

This was the end of their contemplated missionary tour.

At Coventry, however, news was received that in

the Conestoga country were a number of awakened souls. The Brethren decided to continue their journey to the Conestoga. The party divided for the night. Those who were afoot spent the night at John Graff's[1] and the riders at Jacob Weber's. On the 10th they united at Rudolph Nagele's, at that time a Mennonite. From Nagele's they went to visit Conrad Beissel and Michael Wohlfahrt, who at that time were living a solitary or hermit life. On the night of the 10th they lodged with Stephen Galliond. The next day they pushed on to Henry Höhn's. On the 12th a meeting was held at this man's house. Beissel was present. The revival spirit was powerfully manifested. The theme of the Brethren was baptism, the hope of fallen man.

At the close of the meeting five precious souls asked for baptism,—Henry Höhn and wife, John Mayer and wife, and Joseph Shäfer. They were baptized in the apostolic manner by Peter Becker in Pequa creek. This ceremony was so impressive that a sixth, Veronica, wife of Isaac Frederick, was also

(1) John (Hans) Graff (or Groff or Grove) is the first ancestor on the maternal side of the author of this work who came to America. He was a Swiss refugee, came to Pennsylvania in 1696 and settled in the Pequa Valley. While in pursuit of his stray horses, he found his way to what is now West Earl Township in Lancaster County. He was pleased with the country and in February 28, 1724, purchased from Martin Kendrick and Hans Herr 250 acres of land and at once removed to it. He was the first settler in that section and the three townships *Earl* in Lancaster County bear his name. The English of Graff is Earl. His place was long known as Graff's Thal. He died in 1746. His personal property was inventoried at £648, 3s, 10d. Next to Graff's Thal was Weber's or Weaver's Thal. These were the places at which the Brethren remained over night. For a fuller account of Graff see F. R. Diffenderffer's excellent little volume—*The Three Earls, an Historical Sketch.*

baptized. And now a strange event must be recorded! Conrad Beissel saw all this. He knew it was his duty to be baptized. But he had such an exalted opinion of his own religious experiences in his hermit life that he could not submit to baptism at the hands of Peter Becker, whom he regarded as inferior to himself in religious thought. In this perplexity he suddenly remembered that Jesus had submitted to John "to fulfill all righteousness." Consequently, after Sister Frederick came up out of the water, "Beissel came down from his spiritual pride, humbled himself before his friend Peter Becker, and was by him baptized on the same day in apostolic-wise, under the water."(1)

That evening a love feast was held at Brother Höhn's house. This was November 12, 1724. The following Sunday a meeting was held at Sigmund Landert's house, and Landert and his wife were baptized. The stream was so muddy on this occasion that some of the members protested against its fitness, holding that baptism should be administered as Alexander Mack taught, "in a running stream of clear water." As these people were strangers to the Brethren, Peter Becker addressed the people as follows: "These two persons have applied to us for baptism; but as they are unknown to us in their walk and conversation, we make this announcement of the

(1) [illegible] *Epistolae* p. 25.

Minister's Residence at Germantown.

fact to all men here present, especially to their neighbors. If you can bear favorable witness concerning their lives, it is well, and we can baptize them with the greater assurance; but if you have any complaints to bring against them, we will not do it." This is the first recorded instance of a practice honored by the Brethren to this day. It evidently dates to the beginning in Germany. This is the beginning of the church in Lancaster County. Since the distance was so great, the Germantown members advised these to select a preacher and form a separate congregation. Conrad Beissel was chosen. Then the kiss of peace was given and the Brethren returned to Germantown.

From 1722 to 1732 the meetings were held in the homes of the members—generally at Becker's, Gomorry's, Gantz's, Traut's, or Kalckglasser's.

When Mack came in 1729 the number of members was so increased that it was difficult to find a house large enough for the meetings.

In 1732 Christoph Saur, the printer, erected where No. 4653 Germantown Avenue now is, a commodious house, 60x60 feet.

The second story of this house was constructed with partitions hinged to the joist so that when necessity required, they could be swung open and a large audience room was secured. Here the Brethren worshiped until 1760, when the second Christoph Saur was an elder of the church. His increasing

family and growing business demanded all the room in the house, and obliged the Brethren to arrange for another place of meeting.

Among the Brethren was one named John Pettikoffer. He is said to have been a poor man. Brother Peter Schilbert gave him a half acre of ground upon which to erect a house. Pettikoffer begged the money for the erection of a house on this ground, which was nearly two miles above what was then Germantown. Because of this begging historians say the town was named Beggarstown (*Bettel Hausen*). In 1739, Pettikoffer and his wife removed to Ephrata, where his wife died in 1748, and where he died in 1769 (September 11). It was a long while before Peter Schilbert could gain possession of the ground he had given to Pettikoffer. But it was finally his and by deed dated August 12, 1760, Peter Schilbert donated to Christopher Sower, Alexander Mack, Peter Leibert, and George Schreiber, the Pettikoffer house, and eighty rods of ground for a burial place, in trust for the German Baptist Brethren's church of Germantown forever.

The house was remodeled, the partitions were removed, and here the Brethren worshiped until 1770, when the increased membership required a larger house. At the rear of the Pettikoffer house a substantial stone meetinghouse was begun and completed in the same year, and was dedicated before July 1. For the erection of this house the members them-

Meetinghouse of the Brethren, Germantown, Pa.

selves gave the entire amount. The building is of stone and is still standing.[1] It is about 32 feet square, with an attic in which were stored the requisites for the love feasts. This attic was reached by a stairway on the outside,[2] long since removed. But the stone-work still betrays the location of the large square door through which it was entered. About 1880 Sister Lehman and a few others had the meetinghouse remodeled. The old attic was removed, the exterior plastered, and new appointments provided throughout. On May 16, 1897, a fine addition to the old meetinghouse was dedicated. This addition was the gift of Jacob Z. Davis, a direct descendant of Alexander Mack. The dedicatory exercises on this occasion were conducted by the present pastor, George N. Falkenstein. The dedicatory sermon was preached by the writer of these lines from Psa. 122: 1–9.

During the Revolutionary War, when all of Elder Sower's property was confiscated this meetinghouse narrowly escaped. Sower was one of the trustees in whose name the property was held. For this reason it was seized. But Brethren Fox and Leibert, trustees with Sower, explained that the building and ground were not Sower's, but the congregation's. That he was simply one of the trustees in whose

(1) See frontispiece.

(2) St. David's Episcopal Church at Radnor, the home church of General Anthony Wayne, also has such a stairway. It may have been copied after this one of the Germantown church.

name the title temporarily rested. Finally the representations of the members availed and the building was spared, although the yard about it was occupied by the cavalry in the Germantown battle.

When the meetinghouse was occupied in 1770, the old Pettikoffer house became an old folks' home, in which the poor of the congregation were sheltered, clothed, and fed at the expense of the congregation. This is no doubt the oldest home for the poor established by the Brotherhood.

The ground for a cemetery was not so used until the yellow fever scourge swept Philadelphia. Then the Brethren mercifully opened their grounds for burials. This was in 1793. There was need of more ground and the congregation purchased for 430 pounds sterling the adjoining lot, on which was an old log hut, once the Weaver residence, and a good dwelling house,—now the parsonage, 6611 Germantown Avenue. Half the purchase money was paid by voluntary subscriptions in 1793, and the remainder on April 1, 1805.

Among the quite early ministers and deacons of this congregation are the following:

Peter Becker,.....1724–1758
Alexander Mack,.....1729–1735
Alexander Mack, Jr.,.....1748–1803
Christopher Sower, ...1748–1784
Henry Kalckglässer,.....1724–1739
Stephen Koch, ...1724–1739
John Hildebrand,.....1724–1739

Such in brief is the early history of the mother congregation in America. Additional facts will be found in the biographic sketches of the leading ministers in their proper places. There are, however, matters of detail that are of interest to the Brotherhood and to the historian.

The Poor Book of the Congregation.

Before me as I write is a queer book. It is in manuscript, and for the most part in the German language. It is the official record of money received and paid by the deacons of the Germantown congregation from 1747 to 1806. The account opens on May 10, 1747. "To-day the box was emptied and there was in it of contributions 14 shillings." On June 5th Brother Henry Schlingluff, a deacon, was made custodian of the poor fund, and he was charged with £4, 9s. 3d.

On June 28, the box was emptied. It had in it 12s.
On July 24, " " " " " " " " 6s.
On Aug. 23, " " " " " " " " 6s. 6d.
On Oct. 4, " " " " " " " " 17s.
Brother Peter Wentz paid .....£1, 14s. 6d.
On Nov. 5, the box was emptied. It had in it 10s.
On Nov. 22 Nicholas Schriber paid.....£1, 17s.
On Dec. 25 the box was emptied. It had in it 10s.
The total receipts for the year were..£11, 16s. 3d.

From this it will be seen that the congregation had a box, later two boxes, somewhere in the meeting-house, which at this time was the second story of

Saur's house. Into this box the members voluntarily dropped whatever sum they felt free to give to the poor fund. Other brethren gave directly to the fund additional sums. The box was opened by all the deacons and the amount charged to the custodian. This Brother Wentz evidently had borrowed from the poor fund prior to May 10, 1747, for I find on Nov. 26, 1748, these words, "Rec'd in settlement with Bro. Peter, 2s." What was done with this money? The next page of the book tells the eloquent story of Christian charity.

1747				
May	10,	To Sister Elizabeth	14s.	
June	5,	" " Bayer	10s.	
"	5,	" " Elizabeth	6s.	
"	5,	" " Charitas	10s.	
July	24,	" " Charitas	3s.	
"	24,	" " Elizabeth	3s.	
Aug.	9,	" " Elizabeth	10s.	
"	9,	" " Charitas	10s.	
"	23,	" " Elizabeth	8s.	
"	23,	" a poor man of the *Gemeinschaft* at the request of Bro. Gans....	7s.	6d.
Oct.	4,	" Sister Bayer .....£1.	0s.	0d.
"	4,	" " Charitas .....£1.		
"	4,	" " Elizabeth .....£1.		
Dec.	8,	" " Elizabeth	10s.	
		Total paid out.....£7.	11s.	6d.

And so the record goes for fifty-nine years! I notice, too, that the brethren who made the official visit were given money from this fund to take with them

and give to whomsoever they found to be in need. On Jan. 31, 1748, the amount so taken was 11s.; on July 24, of the same year, 12s.; on Oct. 2, 12s. 6d, and on Nov. 12, 11s. In this quiet way the ministers were able to add comfort of a material as well as of a spiritual sort to those they found in need. This is practical, helpful Christianity. Do we as fully perform our duty to-day? On June 2, 1748, Sister Maria Stoltz was in need of a Testament, and she was given 4s. 6d. to purchase one. Again on Nov. 26, 1748, "to Christina for her little boy's shoes, 4s." The next year this same sister was given £1, 15s. for her house rent, June 11, and again on Sept. 3, for the same purpose.

I find also such entries as the following taken at random:

Jan. 12, 1752, To a poor woman whose child burnt itself	7s. 6d.
Nov. 18, 1752, To widows for meal (rye flour)	17s. 6d.
Aug. 29, 1758, For the coffin of Sister Charitas	17s.
Jan. 1, 1759, To Sister Gundis for month of January	12s.
Dec. 2, 1762, For wood for the meeting rooms	13s.
Dec. 7, 1762, To Sister Sophie for 1 cord of wood	£1, 8s.
July 15, 1763, Paid for the fare of Sister Sophie from Lancaster	16s.
Aug. 6, 1763, Paid for taking Sister Sophie back	15s.
April 17, 1776, To Sister Feith, 5s. in money and some sugar and coffee	7s. 8d

When the members met to hold a love feast they donated to the congregation certain sums of money to defray the expenses.

A love feast was held March 26, 1749, to which the following contributed:

Brother Gundy	7s.	6	d.
Sister White	10s.		
Brother Snyder	1s.	6	d.
" Schlingluff	2s.	3	d.
" Gans	5s.		
" Schweitzer	3s.		
" Mack	1s.	6	d.
" Weber	2s.	7½	d.
" Richard	2s.		
Total	£1,	15s.	4½d.

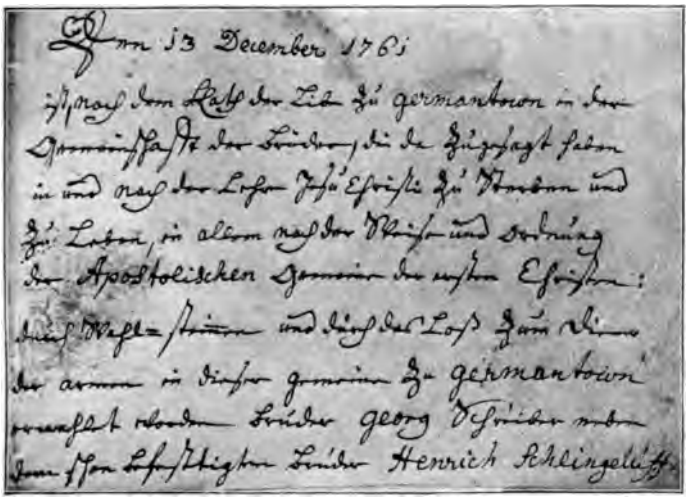
For the feast there was expended:

For rice (3 lbs.)	9s.		
For flour, spice, and butter	1s.	6	d.
For bread and rolls	4s.	10	d.
For meat	15s.		
Total	£1,	10s.	4d.

There was a meal given from this at noon and in the evening.

Deacons and Deaconesses.

Brother Henry Schlingluff was deacon before 1747. In 1761, the congregation had a council meeting and elected a second deacon. The poor-book has this entry.



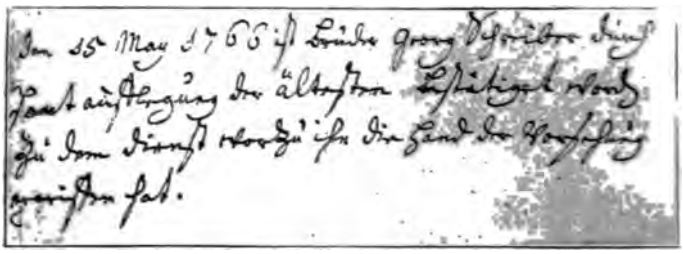
Election of Deacon at Germantown, 1761.

DECEMBER 13, 1761.

According to a council of love at Germantown in the community of Brethren (*Gemeinschaft der Brüder*) who have vowed to die and to live according to the doctrine of Jesus Christ and to follow in everything the manner and institutions of the apostolic congregation of the first Christians, there has been elected by vote and lot as minister to the poor of this congregation of Germantown, Brother George Schreiber, besides the formerly appointed Brother Henry Schlingluff.

But Brother Schreiber had not yet proved himself in the office. The early congregations made no haste to invest men with power and responsibility.

Brother Schreiber had to serve almost five years on trial. Then he was made a deacon in the full exercise of the power attached to that important office, and that too, dear Brethren, by the laying on of hands! Read for yourself the original entry in facsimile.

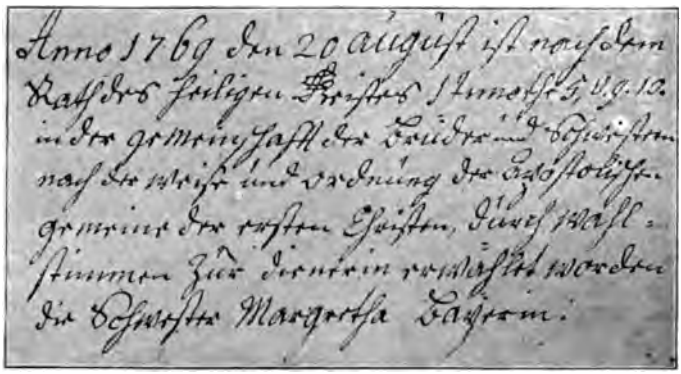


Ordination of Deacon at Germantown, 1766.

On the 15th of May, 1766, Brother George Schreiber has been confirmed by laying on of hands of the elders, to the service for which the hand of Providence had seized him.

But what of deaconesses? Did the early church have deaconesses? Did Mack's pious perusal of the Holy Word compel him to recognize widows as necessary in the official work of the church? In an extended list of members known to Alexander Mack the second, I find the following: "Brother Jacob Schreder and his wife, the first woman elder of the '*Gemeine*.' After her husband's death she lived and served the '*Gemeine*' for seven years."

This record is from the private diary of Alexander Mack, now in my library. Sister Schreder was called to this office at Schwarzenau. The elder who invested her with her sacred office was the founder of the church, Alexander Mack. But this is not an unusual case. It was the first but not the last. Note then the following from the Germantown poor-book:



Election of a Deaconess at Germantown, 1769

Anno 1769, the 20th of August.

According to the Council of the Holy Ghost (1 Tim. 5: 9, 10) in the community of Brethren and Sisters of Germantown, and according to the manner and regulations of the Apostolic congregation of the first Christians, was elected by vote as a ministress (Deaconess) the Sister Margaretha Bayerin.

Here then is the official record of the election by vote of Sister Bayer, an old widow, above seventy

years of age, to the office of Deaconess. What has the church of to-day to say in regard to this? Have we removed any of the landmarks which our fathers have set?

There was a happy day in the Germantown church in 1731. Luke Vetter, one of the original eight at Schwarzenau landed at Philadelphia on September 21, 1731. He had crossed the Atlantic on the ship *Brittania*, Michael Franklin, Master, and was accompanied by his son David, aged twenty-one; his daughter Margerita, aged eighteen; and his daughter Sophia, aged thirteen. Doubtless his wife was dead and he yearned to see once more the face of Alexander Mack and wife, Andreas Bony, Johannis Kipping and wife, who with him had received holy baptism at the first immersion in Schwarzenau. No doubt, there were tears and prayers, and old Alexander Mack, perhaps, welcomed him to his own little one-story house, which he had built on the half acre of ground he purchased in Germantown.[1]

John Naas came two years after and was warmly welcomed.[2] Elder Naas reported in a letter to his son that the Brethren were all well-to-do in Germantown. That this is true is apparent from the following facts: Heinrich Holsapple owned seventy acres of ground; John Mack, two acres in Germantown and eighteen in Roxborough; George Traut, twenty-eight

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 473.
(2) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 247.

acres; John Pettikoffer, one-half acre; Peter Becker, twenty-three acres; Balser Traut, twenty-five acres; Christopher Sower, six acres; John Henry Kalckglässer, forty-two acres; Peter Schilbert, two hundred acres; Johannis Schneider, two hundred acres in Oley Township and one hundred acres in Salford Township; Henry Schlingluff, fifty acres; Heinrich Frey, fifty acres; George Balser Gantz, or Ganz, forty acres in Springfield Township.[1] From this it is evident that the early Brethren were frugal and industrious. They came here poor, having given all for religion's sake, and before 1734, they were among the leading land owners of the colony.

As early as 1738, the Germantown congregation held regular services on Sunday in the house of Christoph Saur, whose only son became a member in 1737. In addition to this Sunday service the congregation held a weekly council meeting on Thursday, and a meeting for the unmarried on Sunday afternoon. It was at this unmarried members' meeting on Sunday afternoon that the Ephrata spirit of discontent was propagated. The result was, indeed, sad and almost disheartening. Many of the congregation decided to follow the lead of Stephen Koch instead of the wiser counsels of Peter Becker; and in March, 1739, the following members removed to Ephrata: John Henry Kalckglässer and wife;

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, pp. 472-477.

Valentine Mack and wife; John Hildebrand and wife; Lewis Haecker and wife; John Pettikoffer and wife; the widow Gorgas; and the children of the above families. At the same time the following unmarried members accompanied them: Henry Hoecker; Alexander Mack; John Reismann; Christian Eckstein; Elizabeth Eckstein; Martha Kinsing; and Miriam Gorgas.

This was a sad day for the Germantown congregation. Some of these became leaders at Ephrata and a few, including Alexander Mack, soon repented of their mistake, returned, and were received into full fellowship again.

Christian Eckstein became the physician of the Ephrata community. His preceptor in medicine was Dr. Medar, from Germany, who was expelled from the Ephrata Society in 1749, because he refused to be baptized.

Lewis (Ludwig) Höcker was also a leader at Ephrata. He became the schoolmaster of the congregation and in 1749 a building (Succoth) was erected for his use. He opened a Sabbath school. This Sabbath school he maintained for more than thirty years before Robert Raikes began his Sunday school work.

There is evidence to justify the claim that the Germantown congregation had a Sabbath school before 1738. The meeting for the unmarried held every Sunday afternoon was doubtless a Sunday

school. Ludwig Höcker may have been the leader of this meeting. In 1744, Christoph Saur printed a collection of 381 tickets, upon each one of which is a scriptural quotation and a stanza of religious poetry by Gerhard Tersteegen. These were evidently used in the Brethren's Sunday school. A set of these tickets in excellent condition is now in my possession.

It is well to note that Sunday Schools, Council Meetings, and an Old Folks' Home were instituted by these early Brethren.

In 1761, as before stated, the place of meeting was changed to the house erected by John Pettikoffer. It stood immediately in front of the present meeting-house. The Poor Book contains this record:

"December 27, 1761. Through the Society's consideration, and decision of the Brethren, it was thought well that the money which is contributed to the box in 1762 should be expended in improving the meetinghouse. For this purpose

There was in the box May 15,	£2, 11s.
" " " " " Oct. 30,	£2, 18s.
" " " " " Dec. 19,	£1, 9s.
There was received for stone,	17s. 6d
" " " " 140 bricks,	4s.
Total,	£7, 19s. 6d.

To this amount was added by subscription the following sums:

Brother Christopher Sower gave	£30, 00s.
" William Dishang "	8s.

Brother Henry Snyder	gave		10s.
" Alexander Mack	"		10s.
Sister Maria Nice	" .....£	1,	10s.
Brother George Schreiber	" .....£	1,	00s.
" Philip Weber	" .....£	1,	00s.
" Henry Weber	"		15s.
" Justus Fox	"		15s.
" Anthony Snyder	"		6s.
" Jacob Herman	"		10s.
" Richard Raab	"		5s.
" Peter Leibert	" .....£	1,	00s.
" Henry Schlingluff	"		10s.
Grand total for repairs.....£		46,	18s. 6d.

This money, as will be seen, was largely the donation of Brother Sower, then a wealthy printer as well as an elder of the congregation. This £46, 18s. 6d. was expended as follows:

For an iron stove, workman's wages and an iron rod.....£	3,	9s.	6d.
For deed (*Kaufbrief*) and other writings.....£	1,	11s.	6d.
Brother Peter Leibert's account of what he expended for the meeting-house.....£	3,	7s.	4d.
To carpenter for laying floor.....£	1,	4s.	
Brother George Schreiber's account for windows, for 2,425 ft. lumber and for hauling.....£	8,	12s.	
Brother Schwartz's account.....£	1,	3s.	10d.
For a lock to the door.....		6s.	6d.
To Brother Anthony for building stable and fence, he boarding himself...£	2,	18s.	3d.

To workmen assisting Brother Anthony, 10 days at 3s. 6d.	£ 1,	17s.	6d.
For 20 common 6 feet long posts		19s.	4d.
For making crib		4s.	6d.
For nails	£ 1,	00s.	10d.
For half expense of making a pump	£ 4,	8s.	5d.
For bands on the garden gate		6s.	6d.
For		3s.	2d.
For making the well deeper	£ 1,	4s.	2d.
For repairing window		4s.	
For 12 window panes at 7d.		7s.	
For clapboards and fixing fence		2s.	6d.
For 2 bushels of lime		2s.	
For the mason and his assistant		8s.	
For 2 days wages to carpenter		10s.	
For sawed wood and lath		3s.	7d.
For 168 shingles		18s.	5d.
For the iron rod in the chimney		4s.	
For 300 feet boards and hauling	£ 1,	13s.	
For work on boards and lath		2s.	2d.
For wages to joiner	£ 1,	5s.	6d.
For sash, putty, and glazing		8s.	6d.
For plastering and painting(?)		1s.	6d.
For 4 posts and cleaning chimney		4s.	10d.
For hand "holds" and bolts		12s.	6d.
For 15 pounds nails		17s.	10d.
For day wages	£ 1,	3s.	5d.
Total expended	£45,	13s.	4d.

The balance in the treasury, together with half the sum in the box in 1763, was used to further repair the meetinghouse. From this unusual expense it is safe to infer that no other meetinghouse was con-

templated for some time. It was, however, in 1770, found that the Pettikoffer house was too small for the growing congregation and the present stone structure was erected.

A walk in the old cemetery fills one with the profoundest emotions. Here under tall pines, in the quiet of death's doings, rest the men and women who lived and died for the church of the Brethren. It is to be hoped that at no distant day a history of these children of God may be written that the world may know who they were and how they lived. The simple inscriptions on the marble slabs are mere texts to the historian, from which he may write an entrancingly interesting story.

Among the many graves is an unmarked one before which one pauses for meditation deep and long.

"All I crave is the pearly drop from Charity's meek eye to dim a little my numerous follies as I journey to the grave. And when laid there, let silence with my quiet dust reside, nor marble tell the passing traveller where the wandering pilgrim sleeps. And yet, there is a sound too that I could desire might perfume the air around my grave, and a balm I hope will flourish there. I mean the widow and orphan confessing me their friend in life—this would be fame sufficient."

And her wish, thus written in 1826, is fulfilled. Harriet Livermore, the "Pilgrim Stranger," sleeps in an unmarked grave in the Brethren burying ground

The Germantown Burying Ground.

in Germantown. What a career was hers! Born at Concord, N. H., April 14, 1788; the daughter of Edward St. Loe Livermore, Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire and for several terms United States Senator. In the capital of the Nation, under the most attractive social conditions she surrendered herself wholly to Jesus, and became a wandering light, shedding in a thousand hearts warmth and cheer. Four times she journeyed to Palestine, and her voice was heard in all parts of her own continent. It is Harriet Livermore to whom Whittier refers in *Snow Bound* as

> "Another guest that winter night,
> Flashed back from lustrous eyes the light.
> Unmarked by time, and yet not young,
> The honeyed music of her tongue
> And words of meekness scarcely told
> A nature passionate and bold,
> Strong, self-concentered, spurning guide,
> Its milder features dwarfed beside
> Her unbent will's majestic pride.
> She sat among us at the best,
> A not unfeared, half-welcome guest,
> Rebuking with her cultured phrase
> Our homeliness of words and ways."

This woman was born an Episcopalian, and later became a Congregationalist. She found on her missionary tours great charm in the Quaker meetings and in the simple faith of the German Baptist Brethren. Of these she says, "I visited them and was

pleased with their humble, modest appearance and behavior. In the course of the afternoon they sang several spiritual hymns. Before we parted several prayers were offered, and I ventured to join my feeble supplications in a vocal manner. This was the first time I had ever prayed in the presence of a man, except in sick chambers."

In 1722 she says, "There was a whisper in my mind concerning baptism. This whisper told me sprinkling was nothing—that infant sprinkling was not an evangelical rite." The outcome of this was her immersion on January 2, 1825. A large opening was made in the ice, prayer and song were offered at the water's side and then Harriet Livermore was buried with Christ in holy baptism.

When Harriet Livermore came to Philadelphia she was not welcomed by the more fashionable churches. Under the guise of hostility to women preachers she was refused admission to many pulpits. However Brother Peter Keyser, then pastor of the Brethren or Dunker church on Crown Street, near Callowhill, gladly gave her the privilege to speak. This is said to have been her first sermon in the city. In the congregation was Sarah Righter, afterwards Mrs. Major. Miss Livermore's sermon touched the heart of the young woman. She was converted, joined the church, and became a famous preacher among the Brethren. She began to preach when only twenty years of age. She was a woman of rare power, and her sermons

were marvels of chaste eloquence and prophetic insight. Among the many members who speak the name of Sister Major in reverent love is Brother Abraham H. Cassel, who at eighteen was brought to the church by this woman's persuasive eloquence and zeal for the cause she loved. Mrs. Major died at Greenfield, Ohio. She was the first convert of Miss Livermore's in Philadelphia. For that reason Harriet Livermore ever afterwards called her "my daughter."

Her last days were spent in the Almshouse in Philadelphia (Blockley), and at her death she was about to be consigned to a pauper's grave, when Sister Margaret F. Worrell appeared at the "Dead Room" and like one of old "begged the body" of the Pilgrim Stranger, took it to her own comfortable home in Germantown and gave it decent burial in the Germantown Cemetery of the Brethren.

Here then sleeps the body of Harriet Livermore, "who abhorred evil more, loved righteousness more, journeyed more amid perils, suffered more, preached and prayed more, wrote more, and wept more for Jesus than any other woman of whom we have a record."[1]

In 1770 there were about thirty families connected with the Germantown congregation. The names[2] of

(1) *Harriet Livermore, the Pilgrim Stranger*, p. 210.

(2) For this list of members in 1770 I am indebted to that rare old book Morgan Edwards *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists*, page 68, Philadelphia, 1770, a copy of which is in my possession.

fifty-seven persons then baptized and in the fellowship are as follows:

Alexander Mack with his wife and daughter, Christopher Sower with his wife and son, Margaret Boyer, deaconess, George Schriber and wife, Henry Slingluff and two daughters, Philip Weaver and wife, Peter Sybert and wife, John Slingluff and wife, Henry Slingluff, Anthony Snyder and wife, Richard Roob, Michael Keyser, Peter Keyser and wife, Jacob Bowman and wife, Justus Fox and wife, John Kime, Conrad Good, Conrad Stamm and wife, Hannah Stamm, I. Becker, Mary Baker, Sarah Baker, Susannah Baker, Eve Fith, Elizabeth Boyer, Mary Bossert, Margaret Herszback, Magdalen Mellinger, Elizabeth Roob, Christian de Lashet and wife, William Spyra and wife, Nathaniel Shryber, Katherine Shryber, Henry Sharpneck and wife, Mary Nyse, Rudolph Harly and wife, Mary Fend, Sybelia Ent.

CHAPTER VIII.—Some Leaders in Colonial America.

The personality of good men is always worth recording. The men who made possible the Lord's work in Colonial America were all men of strong character, resolute, devout, and fearless. They wrought in a wilderness, with no support save the strong right arm of Him they served. They did a good work. Around their memory clusters only the fragrance of God's own. That we may know them as fully as we can I have thought it wise to select a few typical leaders and discuss their lives as fully as the meagre data at hand will allow.

1. Peter Becker.

First in the long procession of good men, led of God and called his ministers in the church in America, stands pious Peter Becker, who joined the church in Creyfelt, Germany, in 1714. He came from Dillsheim, where he was born in 1687. When the unfortunate division occurred at Creyfelt,[1] Peter Becker stood for moderation and for Christian charity.[2] Saddened at the unexpected action of Elder Libe, he gathered a few pious families around him and prepared to sail to America.

(1) See Chapter IV.

(2) *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 248, 249.

Just what led him to come here is not known. But it is undoubtedly true that the active efforts of the Frankfort Land Company, of which Francis Daniel Pastorius was agent, to bring good German families to Pennsylvania, was the immediate cause of his choice.

Creyfelt was a refuge for Mennonites. Penn had converted many of these to the Quaker faith on his famous missionary journeys to the Palatine and Holland in 1672 and in 1677.[1] As early as 1683, Germantown was a German settlement. It was here, in 1688, that Pastorius, the Up de Graffs and Hendricks presented the first protest against slavery in America. The prospect of living with these men no doubt was a determining factor. They came to Germantown in 1719. This is the first body of German Baptist Brethren or Dunkers in America.

They had a stormy passage. The horrors of the sea were emphasized by the memory of troubles at Creyfelt, and this was augmented by the wretched sufferings of the members, owing to the miserable accommodations afforded for the voyage. From Elder Naas' journal some conception of this suffering may be formed. Gottlieb Mittelberger, who crossed thirty-one years later, with the first organ for a Philadelphia church, the High German Lutheran, gives a graphic account of the horrors of the journey.[2]

---

(1) See *Stories of Pennsylvania*, p. 13, *et seq.*

(2) *Gottlieb Mittelberger's "Reise nach / Pennsylvanien" / im Jahr 1750, und Ruckreise nach Deutschland im Jahr 1754. / Stuttgart, 1750.*

"This journey lasts from the beginning of May to the end of October, fully half a year, amid such hardships as no one is able adequately to describe with their misery.

"During the voyage there is on board these ships terrible misery, stench, fumes, horror, vomiting, many kinds of seasickness, fever, dysentery, headache, heat, constipation, boils, scurvy, cancer, mouth-rot and the like, all of which come from old and sharply salted food and meat, also from very bad and foul water, so that many die miserably.

"Add to this,—want of provisions, hunger, thirst, frost, heat, dampness, anxiety, want, afflictions and lamentations, together with other trouble, as *c. v.*, the lice abound so frightfully, especially on sick people, that they can be scraped off the body. The misery reaches the climax when a gale rages for two or three nights and days so that every one believes that the ship will go to the bottom with all human beings on board. In such a visitation the people cry and pray most piteously.

"When in such a gale the sea rages and surges, so that the waves rise often like high mountains one above the other, and often tumble over the ship, so that one fears to go down with the ship; when the ship is constantly tossed from side to side by the storm and waves, so that no one can either walk, or sit, or lie down, and the closely packed people in the berths are thereby tumbled over each other, both the sick and the well—it will be readily understood that many of these people, none of whom had been prepared for hardships, suffer so terribly from them that they do not survive it.

"Among the healthy, impatience sometimes grows so great and cruel that one curses the other, or himself and the day of his birth, and sometimes they come near killing each other. Misery and malice join each other, so that they cheat and rob one another. One always reproaches the other with having persuaded him to undertake the journey. Frequently children cry out against their parents, husbands against their wives and wives against their husbands; brothers and sisters, friends and acquaintances against each other. But most against the soul-traffickers.[1]

"Many sigh and cry: 'Oh, that I were at home again, and if I had to lie in my pig-sty!' Or they say: 'O God, if I only had a piece of good bread, or a good fresh drop of water!' Many people whimper, sigh, and cry piteously for their homes; most of them get homesick. Many hundred people necessarily die and perish in such misery, and must be cast into the sea, which drives their relatives or those that persuaded them to undertake the journey, to such despair that it is almost impossible to pacify or console them. In a word, the sighing and crying and lamenting on board the ship continues day and night, so as to cause the hearts even of the most hardened to bleed when they hear it."

And this, Brethren, is the price Peter Becker and his followers paid to bring the religion of Jesus to the American wilderness!

May we never forget these people, nor prove faithless to the heritage they bequeathed at such sacrifice

---

[1] The land agents and ship agents, who held out to these Germans all sorts of enticements in order to gain a commission on their passage money and the land they purchased.

to us! No wonder Christopher Sower appealed to Governor Denny [1] for relief from these incredible but real horrors.

To Peter Becker God gave the care of his cause in America, and from the organization of the congregation at Germantown to 1758, when he piously fell asleep, he was a true and faithful shepherd of God's sheep. Of his relations to the Germantown congregation I have already written. He was a weaver by trade, and owned twenty-three acres of ground in Germantown. This land he cultivated in cereals and in flax. In 1720 he had for an apprentice the afterwards famous Conrad Beissel. Beissel lived in Becker's house for one year; then left for the Conestoga country, and then eventually Peter Becker baptized him and made of him the head of the Conestoga church.

Peter Becker was married to Anna Dorothy Partman, and their children have many descendants among the churches in eastern Pennsylvania. In 1747 he removed to the Skippack and spent his last days in the home of this daughter Mary, then the wife of Rudolph Harly. His other daughter, Elizabeth, was married to Jacob Stump. Here he was happy. This congregation on Indian Creek was the home place of worship of the Prices and others who were dear to him. On the very spot where he frequently

(1) See life of Christopher Sower, in which these letters to the Governor are given in full.

preached now stands a new house—the home of Abraham H. Cassel, the antiquarian, and one of his descendants.

Original Stone over Peter Becker's Grave.

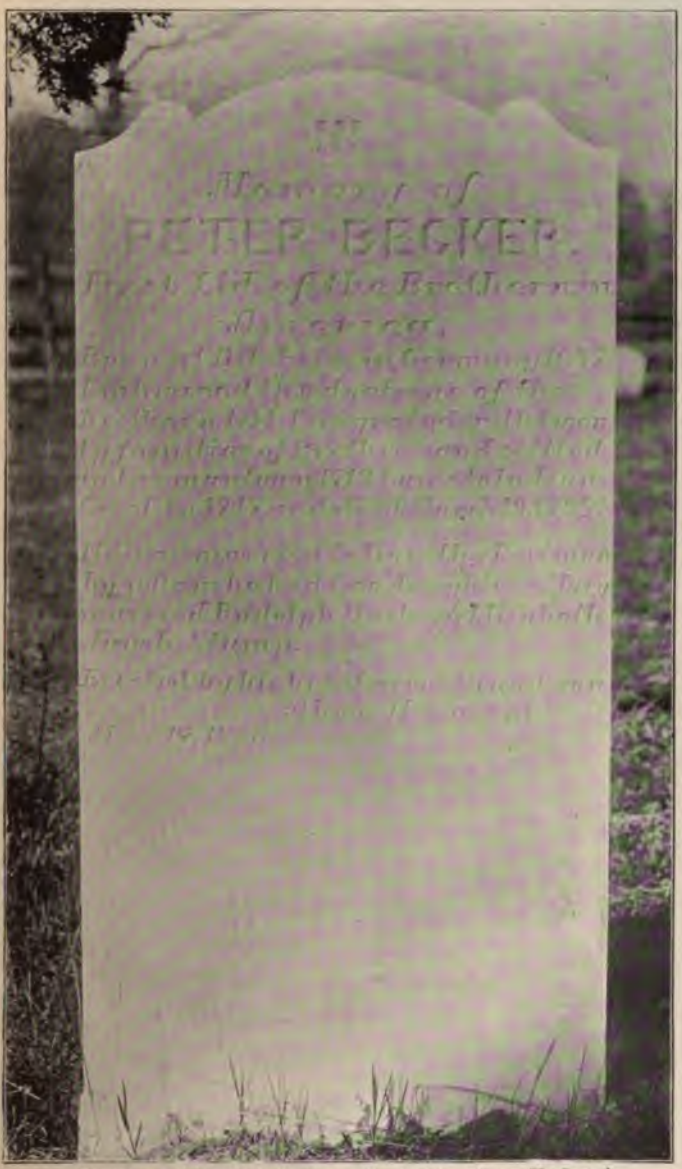
Here he died on March 19, 1758, rich in years and richer in good works. He was buried in the old

graveyard near by, and a simple sandstone with the inscription, "Anno 1758, P. B.," marked his grave.

This gravestone was so small that it finally sunk beneath the sod and the grave was unmarked and almost forgotten. To Abraham H. Cassel, his old aunt pointed out the grave, explaining that she was perhaps the only person living who knew its location. Soon after that she died. Brother Cassel was the sole custodian of the sleeping place of our first American preacher. Years rolled by and typhoid fever seized upon the aged Christian. In his sickness he remembered that he alone knew of the exact spot where Peter Becker was buried. On his sick-bed he made a solemn vow to God that if his life were spared he would, at his own expense, erect a fitting memorial over the grave. God was good to him and in due time he was well. Then the order was given and a beautiful Carrara marble stone was prepared and fittingly engraved. When the workmen under Brother Cassel's direction dug the soil away to set the stone, their picks struck an obstacle,—a rough old sandstone. It was removed to enable the new stone to be securely set, when, wonderful to relate, the old gravestone was brought from beneath the sod! The inscription was plainly cut, and by the side of the new now stands the old stone which for a hundred years had been lost. Surely the hand of God was in this! Now we know of a surety the final resting place, and over it is this loving memorial.

The bitterest cup that Elder Becker had to drink was the result of the Beissel movement at Ephrata. To Peter Becker, Conrad Beissel owed much. In Becker's house he was sheltered and fed and given a trade in 1720–21. From Peter Becker he had received holy baptism in 1724, and from Peter Becker he had received authority to act as preacher, baptizer, and administrator of the holy Communion. Then came, in 1728, the sad separation. From that time to his death the pious old man in his patient grief labored and wept in memory of the fateful events in the Conestoga country. More than this, however, was endured. In December, 1728, Michael Wohlfahrt came uninvited into the public meeting of the Brethren at Germantown, evidently sent by Beissel, and openly assailed Elder Becker, "Men and Brethren, thus saith the Lord, ye have gone mad; this is a city that is destroyed! And unto you, Peter Becker, the Lord saith, why dost thou declare my rights and hast my covenant on thy lips, while yet thou hatest order and throwest my words behind thee!"[1] To all this he gave no angry reply. Then began a most shameless series of proselyting influences; and, since all the ordinances of the Brethren were honored at Ephrata, it was easy to win all discontented members away from the Germantown congregation. In 1738, as we have seen, there was a large exodus, and constantly this propaganda was continued. That it wrung the

[1] *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 42.



Stone over Peter Becker's Grave Erected by Abrm. H. Cassel.

heart of Elder Becker cannot be doubted. Every congregation in Pennsylvania, especially the Germantown, Falckner's Swamp, and Antietam churches, felt the force of this movement. Even the Amwell church was saddened and sundered by the machinations of the followers of Beissel.

Was Elder Becker right in standing steadfastly for the practices of the church and upholding pure and undefiled the faith he had received? To us, of course, there is at once an assent. He was right. But who could best confirm the righteous stand of this pious saint of God? The best witness would be Beissel himself. But he survived Peter Becker only ten years. With his death ended the hope of Elder Becker's complete vindication; unless, (strange unless!) unless some record from him is left to tell the right. Such a record is now in my possession. After many years of patient search, in an out-of-the-way corner of the country, in a miraculous manner, I was able recently to purchase a priceless treasure. It is the original manuscript Letter Book of Conrad Beissel, 347 folio pages of unpublished history of the Ephrata leader. When it is published the world will know what is now unknown and what is now falsely accepted with reference to this strange mystic spirit of the colonial wilds of Pennsylvania.

The *Chronicon Ephratense*, written by Peter Miller, scribe and successor of Beissel at Ephrata, printed in 1786, says (page 28) that Conrad Beissel "visited

Peter Becker yet on his death-bed and among the rest said to him: 'What a pity it is that there were no wise men among you when the awakening in Conestoga commenced; how we could now live under your shelter!' Whereupon the latter wept." This is one part of the story, and one only. The *Chronicon* does not say that soon thereafter Elder Becker had in his hands his own complete vindication in the writing of Beissel himself. This letter is in the Letter Book, pp. 137–146, and since it has never been published, I will give it at length, in literal translation from the German:

EPHRATA, the 20th of the 3rd month, 1756.

To Peter Becker:—

Patient in sorrows, innocent in loving, consumed by misery, makes over souls weary before God. May the heavens rain righteousness, and may the dew of God spread over all the inherited land. So that all hardness may be softened, all bitterness be sweetened, in order that God's grain-fields may be prepared for the last and by-God-so-long-promised evening shower over the whole church of God for a glorious sprouting and growing in the new life of grace; that the people of God may soon reach its completion. For the whole creation yet stands in groans and sighs, and waits for its completion, so that it may be set free from the servitude of vanity and of the perishable beings.

And as to my groanings and longings, which I have had since a very long time, and for all these years—my pen will not be able to tell since it is known only to God.

Oh, how strangely the spark of Eternity or the new life of Grace hidden in God here in this tabernacle of the body—or in the life of mortality—must be brought through it all till it can come to growth and verdure. Oh, how many winds of tribulation have to blow over this poor plant, while it is rooted first in many heart-rending griefs. Oh, my dear, had I but been able to embrace thee more in this precious life of Grace, what a God-pleasing joy it would have given me. Only the sorrowful regret must be my comfort to this hour.

Thou canst hardly believe what deep emotions my heart and soul underwent, when we left your house after our visit, and although to this hour no one has told, nor was allowed to tell, my pen now brings it to the light that I must reveal my heart unto thee; for it fell upon my soul that the harvest was not reaped yet of that matter. When I lived with you 35 years ago, and that neither you nor I had understood what it signified, for something good was in the affair. This remained, and I still am your debtor, for you have not received your due for all you have done for me. Oh, how great is ignorance! The Lord from heaven must be your reward and paymaster, for I can no more make it up. It might have been accomplished in times past, when a kiss of peace was given in the water of baptism, if one had not been so ignorant.[1] But eternal praise be to the good God, who forgiveth

(1) This is evidently what the *Chronicon* bases the above mentioned interview upon. There is no evidence of a visit to Peter Becker after the writing of this letter. The visit referred to in the letter was paid Peter Becker while Beissel was on a visit to Amwell, New Jersey.

sins and trespasses, and who has pleasure in mercifulness and not in judgment.

Meanwhile I remain your debtor and well-wisher. Perhaps the balm of life will heal this ailment, if one is only clothed in faith and love, with God's patience.

As to the rest of our experiences on our journey, I have to tell you this yet. A beautiful harvest is reaped at Amwell of faithful believing souls; still the best part is yet to come, if some spirits among them were to be anointed with the holy oil of the chief high-priestly spirit, poured out and over and flowing down over their entire body to the hem of their robes. Then it might well give a planting which would reap into sheaves for the new world; for which I wish much divine prosperity. I can only say that we have enjoyed there a great deal of blessing, and in nearly every house where we were; which has moved me to a fervently loving compassion, as I see the faithfully disposed minds, although I saw not yet the right door opened with the Philadelphian church key, when a church will be built after the manner of the New Jerusalem where the gates shall stand open all around, night and day, to all the four parts of the world, to every nation and kindred, and tongue, and people, and yet nothing unclean shall enter. For at the very last call to the Last Supper of the Great God all those lying by the fence must be bidden and called in, so that the house of the Lord be filled.

I spend my days in great pains and sorrows for the sake of the sins of the children of my people. But what can be done? It is written: The patience

of God take for your salvation. The Lord will at last know how to gather in his own people and to deliver them from their misery. For the divine and heavenly birth stands at the present time in anxious groaning because the heavenly "Magia" is rather closed up and the earthly, on the other hand, stands wide open. Therefore, the entire earth is alarmed, pious and impious, which causes the holy ones to hold up their heads cheerfully, for this is a sign that the day of their salvation is nearing.

As to my condition and doings since we returned from our journey I have yet to report that the same has made me very quiet, and I have since left the house but little; also inwardly I was held in so closely that I would hardly have been able to fulfill my promise if the old brother König had not come to me and said how he was now going to set out upon this journey. Then I felt at once drawn to write this letter; but whether I shall be able to express myself fully, I do not know; for I am not able to rid myself of that which oppresses my heart.

But to return to ourselves, I have to report once for all, in all these things, where I feel to be thy debtor, I am conscious in my spirit of such a power of blessing as surpasses all understanding. If it is to be now, that my spirit can touch thee in thine, then methinks it is as it should be. Since I know nothing better to counsel, so I will pledge the love given from God in heaven, since I own nothing in worldly goods for the present time, and I hope the communicating love of God will "legitimate" itself so that all affliction can be done away with

for time and for eternity. Grant me, my dear, that I take my pleasure in thee, and that will be if thou will'st. Let me love thee in spirit as much as the divine love desireth. We shall anyhow on account of old age be obliged to limit ourselves to "caresses" only. But if one could attain to kissing and embracing and from thence into the chaste marriage-bed in spirit, where one communes with all pure spirits of the righteous made perfect, who are before the throne in united harmony—whither I long to go also and fervently wait for the glory of God to reveal itself in the midst among his saints to all heavens,—then one will drink of the best wine of the vineyard which has no dregs in it. Am I understood by thee? As I do not doubt that I am, then it is all right and I remain as one lying at the feet of all those who pass by, until God will see to it and will raise the afflicted from the dust and will reduce those who sat high in the pride of their hearts. Blessed be thou, from God and His bountiful spirit, with the fullness of his grace, so that thou mayest be strengthened and fortified inwardly for the blessing of thy weary and faint spirit, and that thy withering bones may become powerful in verdure and growth for the everlasting order of priesthood; so that thou mayest be brought to the lot in which the entire human race is reconciled, and which is to be and is to remain the lot of all saints. Be this thy inheritance forever and ever, Amen.

Here thou hast after all quite a letter. May the Lord bless His work with eternal blessing, that thy home-coming from this time to eternity may be

blessed in the eternal world, wherein I hope to be included forever and ever, Amen.

I shall remain thy faithfully disposed,

FRIEDSAM, *otherwise called Conrad Beissel, one who calls nothing his own in this earth.*

P. S.—Anna Dorothy as well as daughter and son-in-law be heartily greeted, kissed, and loved from me.

Since there is absolutely no more prospect that we shall ever see each other again I want to say just this much more: my spirit holds thee and thy beloved N. N. together with and in the whole church of God, and in the general revival in Germany whose spirit's children we are.

N. B.—But this must be marked, the church of God has its twelve tribes in the new covenant as well as in the old, and the tribes in Germany could not well come to be born from the barren Rachel on account of the wrath of the dragon and the carnal Antichrist; therefore only the number of maid-servants was increased, and when it came far, Leah brought forth Judah, whence comes government according to the flesh. And so Rachel remained barren, and although in the tribe of Judah many a fine branch sprouted under the rule of the Kings, yet they were only few tribes in whom the fertility of the new world remained closed up; since it was reserved for the barren one to bear the seed. Meanwhile the Lord remembered Rachel and caused the church to emigrate towards the setting of the sun (*i. e.*, came to America). I must make it short, for I could write a book about this matter.

It has then come to pass that Rachel bare a son in these lands by the name of Joseph, or God will increase (as the name signifies). This son was indeed different from the other sons of Jacob, though all were Jacob's sons, just as it can be said of the twelve apostles or disciples of Jesus, but one only lay on his breast, and yet they all were apostles.

Here this letter is cut short by the removal of a leaf of the book. What was on that page is not known. But this letter is enough to show Beissel's feeling and relation to Peter Becker. There is no upbraiding, no censure, no charge, but a plea for forgiveness and an humble acknowledgment of the many kindnesses shown him. This was Elder Becker's vindication. In its reception, no doubt, he was moved in his dying days to great thankfulness to God. Let this letter put to rest forever the carping cry of the half enlightened chronicler who delights to reflect upon Elder Becker as a man of so narrow a spirit that he could not successfully direct the early church. He was perhaps the most gifted singer and the most eloquent man in prayer in the colonial church. He was not an effective speaker, but he was of sound judgment, great moderation, and sufficient tact to manage successfully the weighty burdens laid upon him. He was also a writer of hymns, one of which from his pen will close this sketch. It was published in "*Die Kleine Harfe*," an appendix to "*Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel*," a hymn book that

ran through eight editions before the end of the eighteenth century. The title here given is from the second edition by Samuel Sower. The first edition by him was issued in 1791 at Chestnut Hill, Pennsylvania.

THE LITTLE HARP

Tuned According to Different
Beautiful

HYMNS AND SONGS OF PRAISE

Which are Heard by the Ends of
the Earth to the Glory of
the Righteous.

This little Harp sounds indeed sweetly, but yet in a low tone,
Until the great Hosts of Harp Players shall take up the Song.

To God and the Lamb be the Honor and Praise in Time and Eternity! Amen!

SECOND EDITION.

BALTIMORE: Published by Samuel Sauer, 1797.

The sixth string sounds low, but joyfully, of patience.

1. Thou poor Pilgrim, who art wandering here in this valley of grief, and art longing ever and ever for that mansion of joy, as many an enemy besets thee, so that thou weepest much here,—patience.

2. Just keep on trusting strongly in faith and be undaunted, and cling closely to the Word of Life; if thou are harassed, this will lead thee safely through the world. When things are not pleasant to the flesh,—patience.

3. And if thou, at present, dost suffer scoffing on the narrow way, just keep straight on the right path, but shun the broad way. Even if men look at thee askance and ofttimes thou must be grieved,—patience.

4. Believe me truly the time is coming that all this shall pass away; yea, all contentions and all strife shall finally come out of the mind of him who is contending in faith here, and he shall conquer all his enemies,—patience.

5. Indeed, it seems very wonderful in the contentions; on the stage of this life one sees, oftentimes, no danger yet it is close to him on his road; this demands constant watchfulness with prayer and efforts in the strife,—patience.

6. Art thou striving against the flesh, and believest that thou hast conquered, and before thou art aware, it breaks out again and wages against thee anew? therefore watch thou suppliantly and prayerfully and yield not thy stand,—patience.

7. Art thou weak in thy faith and oftentimes sorrowful? be thou not dismayed by this; thy God will help thee; when all help seems lost thy God faithfully wishes thee well,—patience.

8. Thy God leads thee indeed wonderfully in this desert, that He may lay bare what is in thy heart, that thou mayest learn to understand aright how one must look only to God,—patience.

9. And if it still seems so hard before thy mind, look up to thy Savior, this will bring thee victory. He also trod the way of sorrow, and willingly hung on the cross,—patience.

10. Patience was Christ's love. His whole life; this He showed in all truth, and, too, against opposition. He was patient as a lamb and was crucified on the cross,—patience.

11. Into this mirror look, and behold thy image; think how little thou still art; forget not so soon that thou art to be like thy Savior; therefore, suffer all pain,—patience.

12. In this image thou failest, thou my poor soul, for this reason thou art still longing here, in this torment of the body; thou beholdest thyself ofttimes and findest thyself on the way of sorrow,—patience.

13. And when thou seemest entirely forsaken, and dost look into thy dark heart, yea, oftentimes thou dost weep over it in great grief and pain, thou canst not be thine own helper, just resign thyself willingly to it,—patience.

14. Ah, dear soul, take courage, this will all come to an end, thy burden of the cross will be for thy good; thou wilt soon come to thy rest; the sorrow of this short time is indeed worthy of that glory,—patience. [P. BECKER.]

2. The Second Alexander Mack.

Alexander Mack, founder of the church of the Brethren, had three sons, Alexander, Valentine and John.

Of these Alexander was born at Schwarzenau, January 25th, 1712, and was baptized in Holland in 1728. The next year he came to Pennsylvania with his parents on the ship *Allen*, James Craigie, Master. He was an active young member of the church and frequently exhorted in the meeting of the unmarried on Sunday afternoon. In 1736 he was much cast down in spirit. His father was dead and the young man believed he too would soon die. He made his will, bequeathing his little property to a few chosen friends. At this juncture of his melancholy state he was taken into confidence by Stephen Koch, who filled his young mind with great spiritual unrest.

Young Mack was a ready speaker and in his Sunday addresses he began to echo the views of Koch. Finally in 1737 they established a religious house or monastery on the Wissahickon. To this Stephen Koch and Alexander Mack removed October 14th, of the same year. This house was in a valley, about a mile from Germantown, but it is not the famous "Monastery on the Wissahickon." The house these Brethren erected was a small one. In it lived the above named brethren together with Brother John Riesmann and a pious married couple. Perhaps also Henry Hoecker was of the number.

The "Monastery on the Wissahickon" is a large three-story stone building. These men had no money and no time to erect so large a building as

the Monastery. It is more likely that the so-called monastery is only the three-story stone dwelling house erected by Joseph Gorgas after 1752. Joseph purchased the ground from his brother John Gorgas who purchased it in March, 1747. Joseph was a member of the Seventh-Day Baptists, and here he gathered congenial spirits and "held sweet communion."[1] It is wrong historically, therefore, to connect the Brethren with the Monastery. They were poor men, living from house to house, as convenience and economy suggested or demanded. Alexander Mack lived with Henry Hoecker in half a house, the other half being occupied by his brother, Valentine, and his family. To the meagre house of Mack

and Hoecker came Koch April 12, 1736, and the next year, on October 14, they lived in the new house on the Wissahickon. Indeed, it is not proven that it was on the Wissahickon. It was "in a valley, a mile from Germantown." This is probably definite enough to locate it.

Sachse says,[2] "A branch of this new society (*i. e.*

(1) See Watson's *Annals of Philadelphia*, Vol. III, p. 461.
(2) *Pietists of Colonial Pennsylvania*, p. 201.

The Ephrata Society) for a time flourished in Germantown and vicinity. For the purposes of the new community a massive stone building was erected in 1738 on the Wissahickon." He gives a cut of the building and says, "Built by the Zionitic Brotherhood, A. D. 1737, Dedicated, October 14, 173-.—*Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 84."

Now the only people who built a house in the year 1737 near Germantown and moved into it, on October 14, of said year, as recorded by the *Chronicon*, are the above mentioned poor young men. They were not a branch of the new or Ephrata Society, and they did not dedicate the house. It had two occupants, and only two, Koch and Mack, on October 14. In fact these men went out here to commune alone with God and not to build a Monastery. The shelter they had was so meagre that they voluntarily left it. On March 27, 1738, Mack, Hoecker and Riesmann moved to the solitory at Ephrata, and the married man went back to his own land. This left Koch alone. He was then joined by another pious housefather, Lewis Hoecker by name. But, says Koch, "We did not live together any longer than until March 27, 1839, when I also removed to the solitory at Ephrata."[1] So all these builders walked away from the poor hut in the valley and gave it no more thought, nor would we were it not that it has

(1) See *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 84, or in the translated edition, p. 101.

been dragged into prominence as a Dunker Monastery, and the church falsified thereby. I have in my scrap book a clipping from a recent Philadelphia paper, "*Legends of the Wissahickon*," from which I quote to show how a fertile imagination, based upon some false historic record like the one just cited, will weave a tissue of falsehood around a grain of truth:

"Perhaps the only relic of Colonial days in Philadelphia which has been invested by tradition and popular superstition with much of the romance which clusters about mediæval time is the old 'Monastery of the Wissahickon,' which, grim, grey and with a melancholy aspect, looks down from a bluff about a mile above the red bridge, upon all the rugged beauty of the upper Wissahickon.

"When the broad-minded, religious views of William Penn and his peaceful Quaker colony became known in Europe there were many sects spurned by contumely, who sought refuge here. Among them was a queer colony of religious communicants known as Dunkers. Like Catholic priests, they were sworn to celibacy, but were persecuted by Catholics and Protestants alike.

"First they settled in Germantown, but even here they did not find the freedom they had expected, and they looked about for a more isolated spot, where their curious customs could not be criticised by the unsympathetic masses. Eventually they selected the upper Wissahickon as their home. Perhaps there was something in the sternness and severity of nature here in harmony with the pensive sadness

of the old fathers, for they seemed to like the place, and were loth to leave it. The creek flung a genial freshness upward about the grim old house and voluptuous valleys, untainted by city towers and smoke, breathed as soft and sweet repose even as they do now, for the Park Commissioners have tried hard to preserve all the pastoral beauties of this region. But when the Dunkers settled here the region was truly a wilderness. Germantown, the nearest settlement, was miles away.

"But the queer old fathers were not entirely alone even here. For many years before there came a strange old fellow, John Kelpius, who had established a hermitage in a cave across the creek. He gathered followers, and became known as the "Hermit of the Ridge." And when the Dunkers came and established the monastery, the hermit and his followers were wont to participate in their religious exercises, and it was a strange sight to see the quiet old monks and the hermits clad in long, flowing gowns of severe black march into Germantown, single file, with their heads bowed, murmuring their prayers.

"The people of those days were very superstitious, and they looked with awe upon the queer colony of the upper Wissahickon. Dark tales were told of them. Town gossip said that there were underground passageways leading far into the hills, and that away down under the rocks, forming the monastery foundations, were implements used to torture innocent people who came that way to hunt or fish. However, none of these legends was ever found to be true, nor is it on record that the old monks were ever accused of witchcraft. They lived here serenely

and quietly, and though the region was infested with Indians and backwoodsmen, they were left unharmed.

"Shortly after the Revolutionary War the district near the monastery became more populated, and the monks, who seem to have had a longing for a solitary, lonely life, moved away and joined the Dunkard colony at Ephrata, Pa., which was then a comparative wilderness."

If these homeless men of 1737 had a dream that their humble act would be paraded in such fantastic tales surely they would have deposited somewhere the necessary disclaimers to needless notoriety. The simple record would read "A few young religious enthusiasts erected a two-roomed hut in 1737. They have gone; so has the hut."

That Alexander Mack removed to Ephrata, March 21, 1738, is true. Here his life was a series of religious excesses. In the Ephrata Society he was known as Brother Timotheus. The Ephrata Society was at this time in a turmoil over the Eckerlin-Beissel controversy. Israel Eckerlin was Prior. He endeavored to supplant Beissel as Superintendent of the Society. In this controversy Alexander Mack was on the side of Eckerlin and was one of his trusted and intimate friends.

In 1744 Israel Eckerlin decided to go upon a journey for a time in order to allay the growing bitterness in the community. For his journey he had as companions his oldest brother, Samuel Eckerlin, Alexander Mack and Peter Miller. These four

set out from Ephrata on September 22, 1744, and after visiting the church of the German Baptist Brethren at Amwell, New Jersey, they moved eastward to Barnegat, by the sea. Here they met some English Baptists, notably the Colvert family, followers of John Rogers. From Colvert's they journeyed through Crosswick, visiting John Lovell, and at Brunswick took vessel for Rhode Island. They landed at Block Point, seven miles from New London. Here a family, Boles by name, members of the Rogerian Baptists, received them very affectionately. They were suspected of being Jesuits of New Spain, on account of the war then in process between Spain and England. Finally they entered New London, where they attracted much attention. They lodged with Ebenezer Boles, a merchant. They preached to large audiences, and when the time of their departure came their new-made friends gave them free passage to New York and more money than they had on leaving Ephrata. At New York they again were suspected as Jesuits. But a Justice of the Peace, who knew of them, bailed them and allowed them to return in peace.

Peace, however, did not prevail, and September 4, 1745, Israel Eckerlin, Samuel Eckerlin and Alexander Mack left Ephrata, "and moved towards the wilderness. They fled about 400 English miles, towards the setting of the sun.[1]

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 184.

That Mack went on this western journey is extremely improbable. If he did do so he must have soon returned for in 1748 he is back again in Germantown in full fellowship with his brethren.

Christopher Sower records in his diary, "On June 7, 1748, there were placed upon me and Brother Sander Mack the oversight (*Aufsicht*) of the Brotherhood (*Gemeinschaft*) on trial."(1)

Prior to this Alexander Mack must have returned and made fitting apology for his absence, and lived long enough among the members to win their confidence and love. Otherwise they would not have given him the joint oversight of the congregation. This closes his career as a wanderer and marks the beginning of fifty-five years of continuous service in the ministry of the Church of the Brethren.

Scarcely had he entered upon his ministry when his brother Valentine Mack, an Ephrataite, addressed him an urgent appeal to return to Ephrata. This letter of Valentine's was written on June 27th, just twenty days after Alexander was called to the ministry. From the reply one can infer that Israel Eckerlin had reported that Brother Mack was anxious to return to Ephrata. That he was not anxious to return the reply also clearly shows. The letter in full follows:

---

(1) From MS. Diary of Christopher Sower, p. 3. Original in my possession.

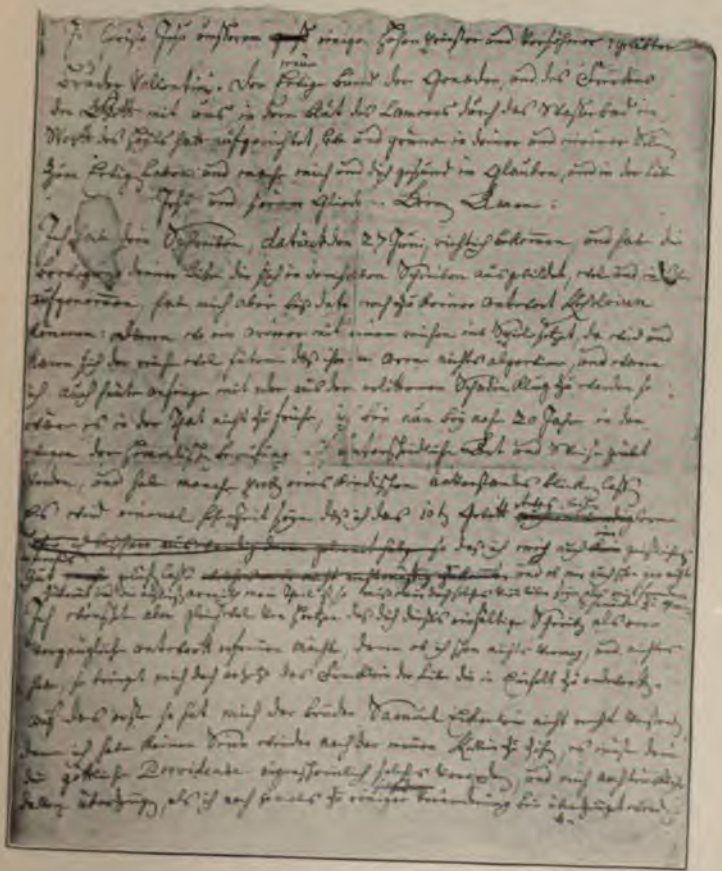
In Christ Jesus our only High Priest and Redeemer:

Beloved Brother Valentine:—May the new Eternal Covenant of Grace and of Peace, which God has established with us in the Blood of the Lamb by the Water-baptism in the Word of Salvation, live and be verdant in thy soul and mine for Life Eternal, and make me and thee healthy in the Faith and in the Love of Jesus and of his members, Amen. Amen.

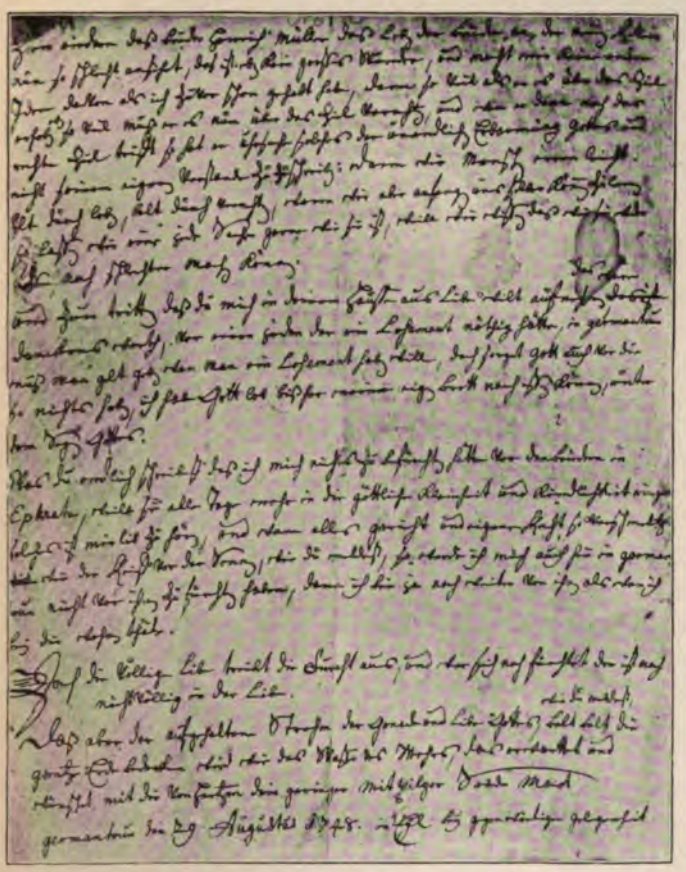
I have duly received thy writing, dated June 27th, and have kindly and lovingly accepted the expression of thy love which manifests itself in the same writing. But until now I have not been able to give thee an answer—for where a poor man sits with a rich man in a game, the rich man can and will take care that the poor one does not win anything from him, and although I might begin to-day to suffer by the loss which I have suffered, it would indeed be none too early. I have now for almost twenty years been tried in various manners and ways in the paths of the heavenly calling and have given many proofs of my childish ignorance. It will for once be high time that I should learn the tenth commandment a little better, so that also in a spiritual sense I should not be covetous of my neighbor's goods; and, although nothing belongs to me and the utmost poverty is my share, I ought to like this much better than to shine in the raiments of others.

However, I heartily wish that this simple letter should please thee as a cheerful answer; for, although I possess nothing and can do nothing, yet the spark of love urges me now to give answer to thee in simplicity of heart.

For the first—Brother Eckerlin has not understood



Letter of Alexander Mack to Valentine Mack.



Letter of Alexander Mack to Valentine Mack.

me rightly, for I have no mind to move again to the new station; unless it should be clearly ordained thus by Divine Providence, and I be more strongly convinced of it than I have ever yet been convinced of any change.

For the second—That Brother Heinrich Müller has such a poor view of the life of the Brethren in the new station is not a great wonder to me ,and does not give me any different ideas of it than I entertained before, for just as much as he has praised it above the measure, just so much must he now despise it above the measure; and when, after this, he hits the right measure he has cause to ascribe such to the infinite mercy of God and not to his own mind. For it is easy for mankind to err, now by praising, now by fault-finding; but when we begin to learn to know our own hearts, we cheerfully leave all things just as they are, as we know we can make them neither better nor worse.

And for the third—That thou wilt receive me into thy house for love's sake, would be very acceptable; for any one who needs a lodging in Germantown must pay money, yet God takes care also of those who have nothing. I have, thank God, so far been able to eat my own bread, yet, under the blessing of God.

What you at last write—That I had nothing to fear for myself from the brethren in Ephrata, since they enter every day more into the divine simplicity and childlikeness, that is pleasant to me to hear. As you say, I shall not need to be afraid of them in Germantown either, for here I am farther away from them than if I were living with you.

But perfect love drives out fear, and he who has fear still, is not complete in love. But that the pent up stream of grace and love of God, as you report, soon, soon may cover the entire earth like the waters of the sea, that expects and desires with thee, with all his heart,

Thy humble fellow-pilgrim,

SANDER MACK.

Germantown, the 29th of August, 1748.

Having served as elder *on trial* for five years, he was ordained with the laying on of hands on June 10, 1753.[1] With him on the same day Christopher Sower was ordained as elder and Henry Schlingluff as deacon. From this fact, together with the before-cited instance of the election of George Schreiber as deacon *on trial*, the election of church officers *on trial* is clearly shown to have been the practice in Germantown for many years. It must be left to the church of to-day to explain what it has gained or lost by the abandonment of this rule of practice.

Between Elders Mack and Sower there were always the most cordial relations of Christian good-will and helpfulness. The eloquent memorial to this is found in the fact that Elder Sower records in his own private diary the religious work of Elder Mack with the same care and detail as he records his own. From this source the following facts are gleaned:

(1) MS. Diary of Christopher Sower, p. 4.

Persons Baptized by Elder Mack.

1749, March 26, Elizabeth Ganz.

1750, May 3, Catharine Sharpnack, who became, April 21, 1751, the wife of Elder Sower.

1753, April 15, Sophia Schlingluff.

1755, June 22, Anna Schreiber.

1757, Justus Fox.

1758, July 22, William Dischang and Jacob Herman.

1769, July 29, Susanna Becker and Christopher Sower, son of Elder Sower, and the third Christopher, who in 1758 became King's Printer and Deputy Post-Master General for Nova Scotia.

1769, Sept. 3, Michael Keyser, Sarah Mack, Susanna Becker.

1769, October 5, Peter Keyser and his wife Hannah, Johannis Schlingluff, Conrad Stamm, Henry Sharpnack and his wife Sarah, Elizabeth Roble [Reubly], Sister —— Send.

1770, Sept. 3, D. Keiser and wife Hasel, Johannis Weber, William Leibert.

1770, Sept. 30, Julius Reubly and his wife Apollonia.

1784, Sept. 19, Jacob Zeigler, Manuel Fox and his wife.

1784, Oct. 24, Catherine Sower.

1785, Sept. 25, Nicholas Oliver, Benjamin Lehman, Peter Keyser, Jr.

A Famous Letter Writer.

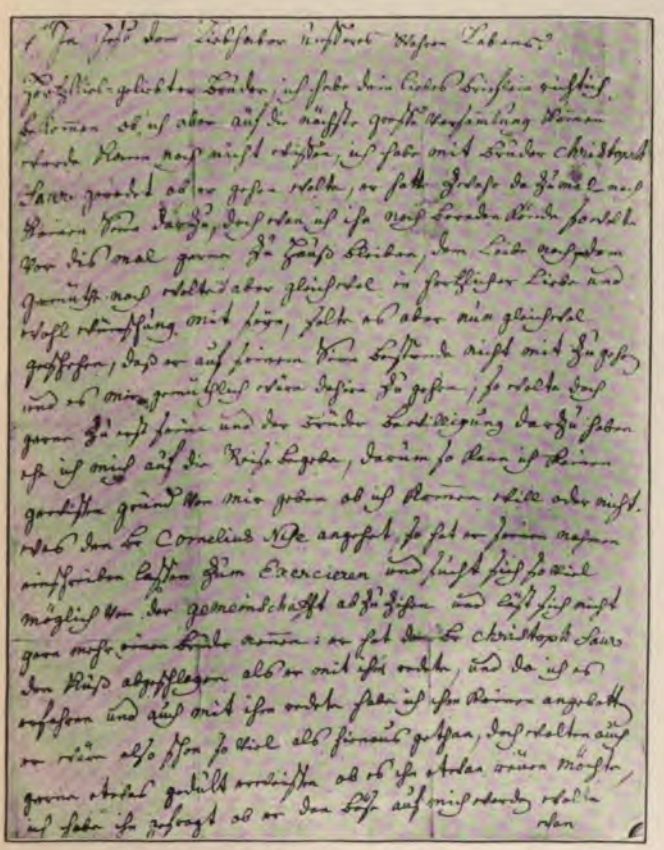
Perhaps no man in the early church had as wide a circle of correspondents as Alexander Mack. In my own collection of his MS. remains, secured from Abraham H. Cassel, are at least thirteen letters written by him and an equal number written to him by such well known members as Catharine Hummer, Martin Urner (three), Jacob Mack, Jacob Stoll, Ludwig Hoecker, Jacob Donner, Michael Pfautz, Daniel Letterman (two), Charles Horlacher, and Rudolph Harley. In all of these there breathes the spirit of Christian love and confidence, stamping Elder Mack as a counsellor and a leader among them.

Among the number are six to Elder John Price of Indian Creek, a son of Daniel and a grandson of John Price,[1] son of John Jacob the great ancestor of the Prices in America. Elder John Price[2] was the father of the celebrated preacher and elder William W. Price. To him Alexander Mack pours out his heart in full sympathy. The love between them was like that between David and Jonathan. Of these letters to Elder Price the following is selected because it was written in the opening days of the Revolutionary War,—a time that tried the souls of non-resisting Christians.

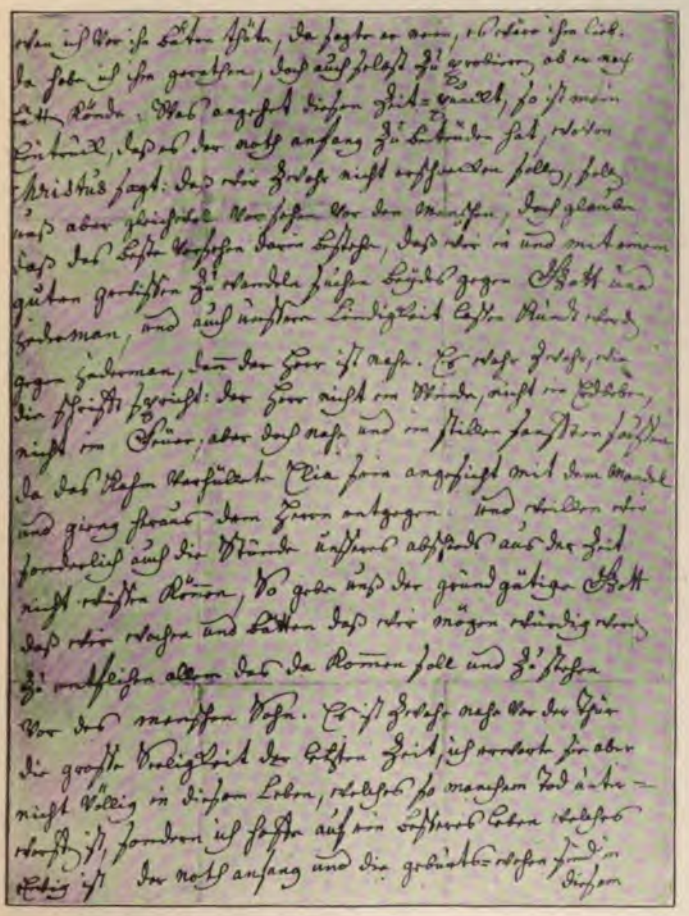
---

(1) This John Price married at eighteen a beautiful young Indian girl.—*Abrm. H. Cassel.*

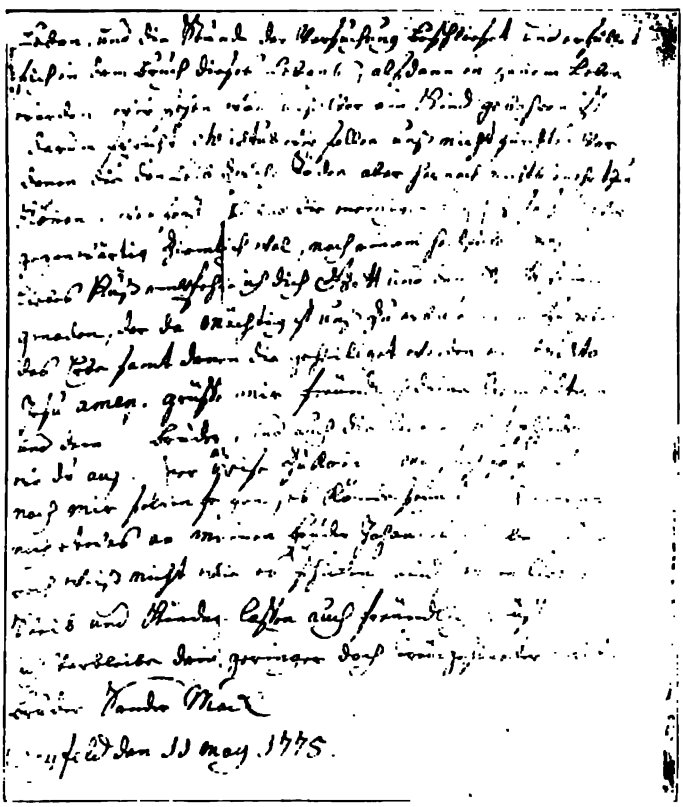
(2) Elder John Price was born Dec. 5, 1751, married Elizabeth Weidner in 1780. They had six children: John, Daniel, George, William, Elizabeth (wife of George Nice) and Susannah (wife of Henry Moyer). Elder Price died at Indian Creek, Sept. 7, 1829.



Letter of Alexander Mack to John Price.



Letter of Alexander Mack to John Price.



Letter of Alexander Mack [illegible]

(March 11, 1775.)

In Jesus the Lover of Our True Life,

Heart's-much-beloved Brother:—I have duly received thy dear little letter, but I cannot know yet if I shall be able to come to the next Great Meeting. I have been speaking to Brother Christopher Sower to enquire if he meant to go. He then had no mind to go, but if I should succeed to persuade him I would gladly stay home myself this time, according to the body, but according to the spirit I would be there in heartfelt love and "well-wishing." But if it should happen nevertheless, that he insisted on his refusal to go along, and if it should be convenient for me to go, I would first like to have his own and the Brethren's consent before starting on the journey; therefore I cannot yet say with certainty whether I shall come or not.

What concerns Brother Cornelius Nice, I have to state that he has had his name registered for drilling and that he seeks to withdraw as much as possible from the Communion and does not like to hear himself called Brother. To Brother Christoph Sauer he has refused the kiss when he spoke to him, and when I heard of it and also spoke to him, I did not offer him the kiss so as to indicate that he were as good as expelled already; yet I wanted to show him some patience in case he should perhaps feel repentance. I have asked him if he would resent it when I should pray for him, but he said no, he would like me to do it. Then I advised him to try for himself if he still could pray.

My impression of this period is, that it indicates the beginning of the time of trouble of which Christ

speaks: That we must indeed not be frightened, but yet must be on our guard before men. Yet I am not sure the best guarding consists in our trying to walk with a good conscience, both before God and man, and that we show our gentleness to everybody, for the Lord is near. He was, as the Scripture says, not in the wind, nor in the earthquake, nor in the fire, yet he was near, and in still, soft, gentle rustling; when this was heard Elias covered his face with his mantle and went out to meet the Lord. And since we are not able to know the hour of our departure from this sphere, so may the merciful good God give us to watch and pray that we may become worthy to escape from all that is to come, and to stand before the Son of Man. It is indeed near at hand, the great blessedness of the last time; but I do not expect it fully in this life which is subject to so many deaths, but I hope for a better life which is eternal. The beginnings of the trouble and the travail are in this life, and the hour of temptation ends and fulfills itself in the break of this life, but then in the other life we shall see what sort of a child has been born to us. Therefore Christ says we shall not fear those who may kill the body but can do no more than that.

What concerns me and mine, we are all pretty well. With a hearty greeting and loving kiss I commend thee to God and the word of his mercy, who is powerful to edify us and to give us the inheritance with all those who are sanctified in Christ Jesus, Amen.

Friendly greetings to thy dear parents and brothers, and also to the beloved members whom thou mayest meet on thy journey in case they should ask for me.

it might be that to-morrow I should write a little more to my Brother Johannes, yet I cannot tell if I shall be able. My dear wife and children send friendly greetings.

I remain your humble yet faithful fellow-brother,

SANDER MACK.

Creyfelt, the 11th March, 1775.

To the beloved Brother Johannes Preisz,
To open with his own hands.

The tender solicitude of this old saint of God is nowhere more plainly and touchingly set forth than in two letters written in 1772 to John Price concerning the baptism of the latter. When the good news reached Elder Mack he wrote:

> The name of the Lord is an outpoured unguent,
> In the same lovely and gracious name of Jesus
> I wish peace, and hail my dear Brother Johannes Preisz.

I have received thy writing and read it rejoicing that the Lord is so friendly and has so lovingly invited thee to his heavenly Feast. Alas, my dear one in the Lord, do not think a trifle the chastisement of the Lord, especially since he regards thee so lovingly and leads thee to see the misery of thy sins, and at the same time comforts thy heart by good purposes to penetrate to a better life through the grace of God. I can well say that I have no greater joy than to see and hear that men are invited in their youth. O what a glorious thing it is when one then really comes and by the grace of God becomes faithful, then the joy is still greater. I have read the lines of thy hand with tears of joy and wish with all my heart that when the Lord will have completely restored thee and made

thee well again, that thy purpose will be again framed with a healthy heart and may be renewed. Much more I pray and wish that the Lord may accomplish in thee the work that He has begun to thy own and thy dear parents' joy and to the joy and comfort of all who love the works of the Lord. I do not intend to write much until some other time, after thou hast written me again a few lines, or perhaps I may come to see thee soon if the Lord allows it and we live, then we can talk together by word of mouth.

Meanwhile I wish heartily the blessing of God and a rich abundance of his divine power to strengthen thy purpose in thee; besides a hearty greeting for thee, please to greet thy dear parents as well.

I am thy humble Brother and fellow-pilgrim,

SANDER MACK.

Creyfelt, the 24th of November, 1772.

My dear wife sends her greetings and also my two children. This was written in haste with a ruined pen; thou wilt have difficulty in reading it.

Sickness and doubt delayed the baptism of John Price. But delay did not cause Elder Mack to forget. True to his holy calling and to his noble Christian solicitude, he answers Price's letter with one so full of the spirit of courteous admonition and tactful allaying of perplexing problems in the mind of the young candidate that it is given at length. May it serve to the elders of the church as a model of Christian correspondence. Note how lovingly and yet how clearly he touches on the question of complete forgiveness before baptism; how he expresses surprise, almost

pain at the postponement of the sacred ordinance; and, finally, with what good sense he greets and kisses the candidate, making him feel a foretaste of the welcome that awaits him in God's family.

CREYFELT, the 29th December, 1772.

In Jesus the Crucified, Much-beloved Brother:—

In this same our Immanuel I wish with all my heart all comfort of love, according to the pleasure and the goodness of our God in the acknowledgment of our Savior who has died for our sins and has risen again for our righteousness.

I have received thy beloved letter and read it in compassionate love and have found in it first thy loving solicitude that no one of us some day should be found a wicked servant; because, as thou so well remarkest, the day approaches on which we all shall become manifest before the tribunal of Jesus Christ. To escape from this great misfortune we have much cause to implore Jesus, the true Light of the world, to give us a single eye so that our body be light and we may follow Him, the true Light of the world, so that we need not walk in darkness. For he who has a wicked eye, his body will be in darkness, speaketh the mouth of truth, and in such darkness man loses his trust in God and can no longer find any delight nor taste in self-denial, in which consists all spiritual growth and increase. Therefore sayeth the Lord: He who will be my disciple, let him deny himself and take my cross upon himself and follow me.

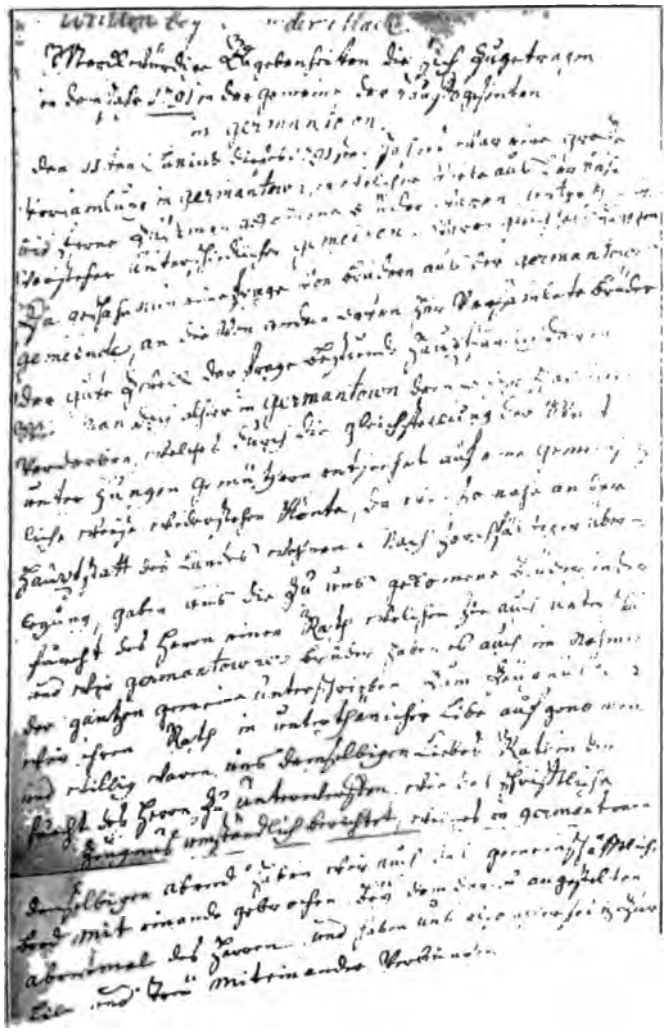
Oh, my dear one, who walks thus in simplicity, he walks safely. May the Lord give light to the eyes of

our understanding that we may not miss the footprints of our Good Shepherd in anything whatsoever.

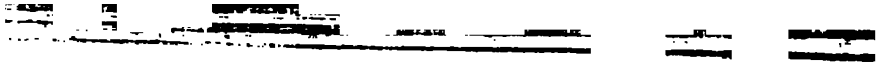
What else thou reportest, that thou hast no assurance yet of being forgiven for all thy sins, that is not a bad sign, for God reserves this privilege for Himself in His own loving power, so full of wisdom, when, where, and how He will give to a repentant sinner the assurance that his sins are fully forgiven to him. It is a certain sign of God's willingness to forgive us our sins when He grants us to feel a deep repentance for everything wherewith we have insulted the eyes of His High Majesty. Especially when such repentance is accompanied by a disgust against the evil and with an ardent desire to do the will of God, I think this a better sign than if a visible angel would come down from Heaven and say to some one who has not yet tasted the bitterness of sins,—Thy sins are forgiven.

It must indeed be accepted gratefully when the Lord by the inward joyful strength and the comforting voice of the Good Shepherd gives to a soul a sure marrow- and bone-penetrating assurance that his sins are now forgiven and that his name is written down in heaven. However, it seems to me that our prayer should be more to the effect that the Lord may keep us from sin and may lead us into the pleasure of His will, in order that our will, our desire, and our entire pleasure may become a daily burnt-offering to the pure love of God. When Saul was converted and had been fasting and praying for three days Ananias spoke to him: Dear Brother Saul, why tarriest thou, arise and be baptized and have thy sins washed away, etc.

If now the Lord should not be willing to give thee an entire assurance of the forgiveness of thy sins until



Remarkable Events at Germantown in 1701



thou hadst been baptized it would be nothing new nor unusual, but an experience which has happened to many before thee or me. However the kind hand of God is bound by nothing, but He gives and takes as it is good for His children and can serve to their best. Let us on our part only try to become true to God. I have wondered somewhat that thou hast postponed thy baptism until spring, as thou dost not know if thou wilt live until then.

Be heartily greeted and kissed in the spirit and recommended to the grace of God. My wife and children send greetings too. Also greet thy dear parents and whoever of thy brother and sisters is willing to accept a greeting. I am thy humble Brother.

SANDER MACK.

To the dear Brother, Johannes Preisz,
To be opened at his pleasure.

Reference will be made under the chapter on Annual Meeting, touching an invited council meeting at Germantown, in 1791. The record of this council is here given in the handwriting of Elder Mack.

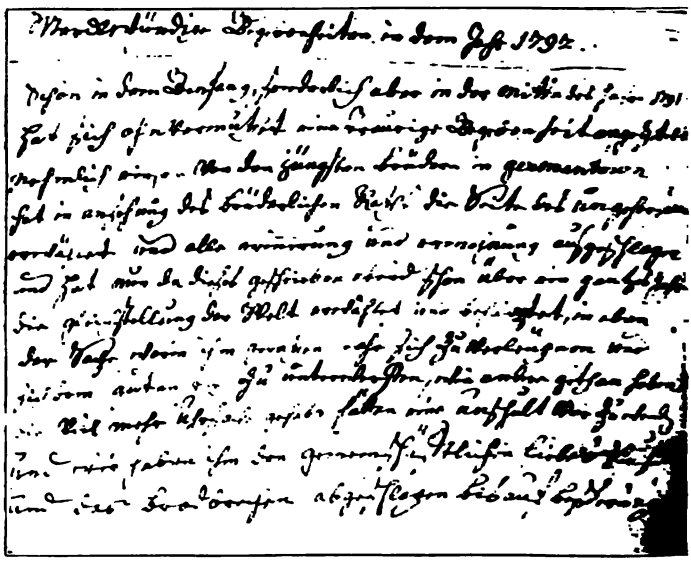
Remarkable Events which have Transpired in the Year 1791, in the Congregation of the Baptists in Germantown.

On the 11th of June of this 1791st year a large meeting[1] took place in Germantown, where many Brethren from far and near came together; several elders of several congregations were likewise present.

There a question was brought up by Brethren from the Germantown congregation to the assembled Brethren coming from other places. The good pur-

(1) Was not this the Annual Meeting for 1791?

pose of this question consisted principally in this: How one could, here in Germantown, resist by a united effort the very injurious evil which by the conformation to the world[1] is wrought upon the



Remarkable Events in Germantown in 1742.

minds of the young, as we are living so near to the capital of the country.

After careful deliberation the visiting Brethren gave us in the fear of the Lord an advice, to which they signed their names, and we Germantown Brethren have also signed in the name of the entire congrega-

[1] This "conformity to the world" here first appears in the literature of the Brotherhood.

tion, to bear witness that we have received their advice in submissive love, and are willing to submit to the same loving advice in the fear of the Lord, as the written testimony reports in detail, which is preserved in Germantown.

On that same evening we have broken the bread in the congregation at the Lord's Supper which was specially appointed for the purpose and have thus bound ourselves all together in love and faithfulness.

That this agreement was faithfully kept by the Germantown congregation is shown by the following record by Elder Mack.

Remarkable Events in the Year 1792.

Already in the beginning, but especially in the middle of the year 1791, a sad event has unexpectedly been brought about; namely, one of the youngest brethren in Germantown has, in spite of the advice of the Brethren, chosen the part of disobedience and has declined all warning and exhortation and has now, when this is being written, for over a year chosen the conformation to the world and insists on his innocence in the very cause in which he had been advised to deny himself and to submit to good advice, as others have done who would have had much more cause to insist on their innocence. And we have refused him the kiss of Brotherhood and the breaking of bread until he reforms.

We have seen how Elder Mack sent the kiss of love to John Price even before the latter was baptized. This spiritual union was never severed. In 1798 a

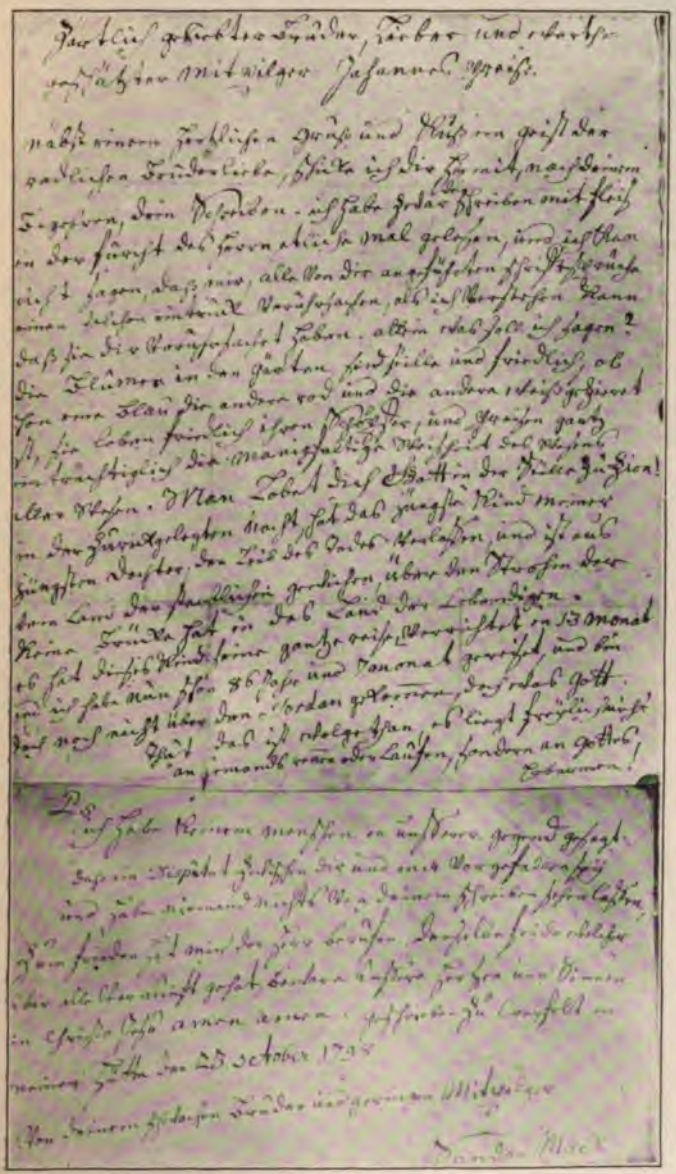
difference of opinion arose between these men, now both elders of the church, and it is not too presumptuous to commend to some elders of to-day the manner in which these brethren settled their difference.

On June 1, 1798, Elder Mack acknowledges a letter from Elder Price and says, "I have read carefully and thoughtfully several times all the words which thou hast written me and until now have not found in them any cause to change the opinion which I hold on this matter." The matter referred to is the question of religious persecution, for Elder Mack commends to Elder Price, Acts 4: 1, 2; and 5: 17, 18. The conduct of the Sadducees fills Elder Mack with indignation and against their spirit he cries out:

"O Lord, mercifully deliver all souls for thine own sake from this swinish way! Oh, my dear Brother, do not wonder that I cannot listen to anything that rises up to disturb me in my heavenly call! As far as the parallel presentations and elucidations are concerned, I find some in thy letter which in good conscience I cannot praise. Yet I think I am not acting wrong in leaving them as they stand, for only the alone-good and alone-wise God can know why thou hast written in this way.

"To this God who is alone-powerful be glory and praise in eternity, Amen. To the Father of mercy and the God of all comfort be heartily commended by a for-grace-hungering little worm, otherwise thy well-known humble brother, SANDER MACK.

Written at Creyfelt, in our hut, the first day of June, 1798."



Letter of Alexander Mack to John Price.

To this came a reply full of Christian charity, but containing Scriptural texts intended to convince Elder Mack to Elder Price's views. In this Elder Price was not successful, but he did draw from Alexander Mack a precious letter, so full of God's love and charity that it deserves to be treasured in the heart of all Christian people. No kindlier spirit ever breathed its fragrance into the church than this.

Tenderly Beloved Brother, Dear and Esteemed Fellow-Pilgrim, Johannes Preisz:—

Besides a hearty greeting and a kiss in the spirit of upright brotherly love I, according to thy desire, herewith return to thee thy letter. I have indeed read thy letter repeatedly in the fear of the Lord, and I cannot say that all the texts which thou hast quoted cause me such an impression as I understand they have caused you. But what am I to say?

The flowers in the garden are quiet and at peace. Although one is decked in blue, another in red, and another in white, they serenely praise their Maker and in entire harmony laud the manifold wisdom of the Being of all beings. They praise Thee, Lord, in the stillness of Zion!

In this past night the youngest child[1] of my youngest daughter has departed from the body of death and has passed from the land of mortals over the stream that has no bridge to the land of the living.

This child has accomplished its entire life's journey

(1) This child was named Maria. She was a daughter of Imanuel Fox and his wife, Anna Margaretha Fox, daughter of Alexander Mack. She died Oct. 22, 1798.

in thirteen months, while I by now have been journeying for eighty-six years and seven months, and have not yet crossed the Jordan; but what God does, is well done; and it does not depend upon any one's running or racing, but alone upon God's mercy.

P. S.—I have not told any one in our neighborhood that a dispute had occurred between thee and myself, and have not shown thy letter to any one. The Lord has called me for peace. That same peace which passeth all understanding, keep our hearts and minds in Christ Jesus, Amen, Amen.

Written at Creyfelt, in my hut, the 23rd of October, 1798, by thy weak brother and fellow-pilgrim,

SANDER MACK.

Reference has already been made to the marriage, in 1780, of Elder John Price to Elizabeth Weidner, daughter of Lazarus Weidner, a Mennonite preacher. At this time a Mennonite was not allowed to marry outside the congregation. Elizabeth was expelled. This action called forth from Elder Mack this letter, the original of which is in my possession:

December, 1780.

LAZARUS WEIDNER,

Dear Friend:—It has been reported to me that thou hast cast thy daughter out of the congregation because she has married my dear Brother, Johannis Preisz. In the hope that thou mightest be prepared to give a reason to any one who demand a reason of the hope that is in thee, I find myself compelled in childlike love to lay a few questions before thee:

First Question.—Is it possible that thou canst do this thing and yet remain a preacher of the Gospel?

Second Question.—Dost thou perhaps consider my dear Brother Johannis Preisz an unbeliever? Why so? John the Apostle says, we know that we have come from death unto life if we love the brethren. Whoever does not have this love remains in death.

My much-beloved friend, should it not be pleasing to thee to answer my questions, then I hope thou wilt surely try to answer them in some measure to thy own conscience.

I shall try to remain thy good friend and well-wisher, SANDER MACK.

Author of Valuable Works.

As early as 1760, says Hildeburn, in his *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*, Sower published a treatise from the pen of Alexander Mack, entitled: *Eine Armuthige Erinnerung zu einer Christlichen Betrachtung von der Wunderbaren Allgegenwart des Allwissenden Gottes*, 8vo., 7pp.

In 1788 there was published at Ephrata a work entitled: *Anhang zum Widerlegten Wiedertaufer*,[1] and in the same year from the same press, at the expense of the Brotherhood, Alexander Mack issued his famous defense of the doctrines and rites of the Brethren church as Scriptural, entitled "Apologia."[2] The full title is: *Apology, or a Scriptural Answer of Certain Truths, Brought about by a Recently*

(1) Copy in Library of Juniata College.
(2) Copy in Library of Juniata College.

Published Article under the Name, The Refuted Anabaptist. In a Dialogue Written for the Common People. The Whole Conversation, Word for Word, is Given in these Pages, and the Apology as an Answer to the Perverted Truth added by Theophilus; Ephrata: Published at the Expense of the Brethren in the year 1788.

This is the most important defense of the church written in the eighteenth century. It contains seventy-two pages. Theophilus is the assumed name of the author, Elder Mack. The conversation develops the rites and ordinances of the church, and on page 65 begins the refutation of the accusations against the Brethren or Anabaptists. The objections he meets are so frequently revived that it seems wise to insert here the plain and sensible remarks of Brother Mack.

First.—The Anabaptists are accused of warring against their own flesh and blood because they do not baptize their children under age (minors).

The Anabaptists believe firmly that a human law to a dying child amounts to nothing; to a child, however, to whom the Lord gives time to live and to know His will, they believe it may be very damaging because very often through human laws God's laws are thwarted. Now they who consider this carefulness "warring" err very much.

Secondly.—The Anabaptists are accused that their creed (*Lehrsatz*) is founded in the imagination, since they seek to maintain no other creed than the will of their Heavenly Father which is made manifest

through Jesus Christ in the Holy Scriptures; before which creed all imagination and fancy vanishes as frost before the rays and heat of the sun.

Thirdly.—The Anabaptists are accused that their doctrine (*Lehrbegriffe*) shuns reason (reference to p. 9) and cannot stand close examination. The Anabaptists desire to have no other doctrine than the words of their Savior as they are written in the New Testament, which words never evade reason, and are not only as well refined gold which is able to stand the closest examination, but they will also remain when heaven and earth shall pass away.

Fourthly.—In the fact that one accuses a lover of the truth of doing a wrong to reason because he takes it captive under obedience of truth,—although there is no greater honor to be found under heaven for our little reason than to be permitted to shine in the bonds and fetters of heavenly wisdom and wherever it is met with outside of these confines, wherever it is outside of its own free state, it must be as a harlot who for her punishment of the terribleness of her folly (lack of reason) must be plagued, harassed, and condemned.

Fifthly.—Insomuch as the Anabaptists are accused, they are Anabaptists because they hold of all people on the earth the right baptismal command of Jesus Christ, and are therefore not *against* but *for* baptism; moreover it is a fact that he teaches in his dialogue that the Anabaptist truly deserves this name, and his last expression testifies to this in which he declares the baptism, which was practiced by Jesus Christ and his apostles, entirely unnecessary; whereby he clearly proves that he is against baptism. For Christ himself

says: He that is not against us is for us; therefore, surely *Ana*baptists are not *Anti*baptists.

Lastly, however, to come to the close of this speech, the dear friend (the Churchman) has remarked (reference to p. 64) that many say: Away with outward baptism, we must receive it inwardly: this he once said to one of his friends, who said: What, must one first tear the people asunder before he baptizes them?

Upon this it is expedient to remark the wise information serves me very well which the dear brother (the Churchman) has given in his speech, namely, that faith and believing (*der Glaube u. das Glauben*) are as different as life and activity. To profit by this in its real meaning, the clear expression of the true and genuine testimony serves very well, which testifies: Behold the kingdom of God is *within* you. Luke 17: 21. Now whenever the kingdom is within a man there also is faith, however with a great difference. In many it (faith) lies as dead and hidden as fire in a cold stone; in others it lies as a little spark in the ashes; while in others as quite a large coal. With all, however, something real must precede inwardly or outwardly, and generally inwardly *and* outwardly at the same time. That is to say, there must something real precede so that man may come into the possession of the ability to believe, *or* it is to show that faith is not a man's ordinary possession, but rather that is disbelief in which he is prone to live and to die. Concerning this point, Paul testifies, Acts 17: 31, that God places faith before every one—*i. e.*, makes it possible for every one to believe. Hence the apostles and servants of Christ have striven, at all times, with the two-edged sword of the Word, to pierce the hearts of

men, and to sever asunder the lurking place of this ignorance and wickedness; to preach the kingdom of God, to make a place for the *inward* kingdom of God; and to destroy the kingdom of Satan. Wherever now this God-like work is received in men, there is Christ himself received in his rightful possession. John 1: 12, To them he gave power to become the sons of God. N. B.—They who believe in his name, to such children the washing of regeneration (*Bad der Wiedergeburt*) is necessary; through this also water baptism itself takes its beginning *inwardly* and is outwardly put into effect, as it pleases God. Christ says: He who looks upon a woman to lust after her, has broken honor with her already in his heart. Now, if the kingdom of Satan has such power over men who allow themselves to be caught in the snare of shameful lust, how much more has the kingdom of God power over men who allow themselves to be caught in the net of the Holy Gospel which heavenly wisdom has spun and woven.

Thence when the treasurer (of Queen Candace) spoke to Philip: Behold here is water, what hinders me from being baptized? Acts 8: 36, he had received (or accepted) water baptism *within* already in faith. But Philip desired that he should have received (*angezogen*) also Christ *within* through faith before he entered the water, hence he said: If thou believest with thy whole heart thou mayest. He answered: I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God. In this opinion Paul speaks. Gal. 3: 27. · For as many of you as are baptized into (*auf*) Christ, they have put on (*angezogen*) Christ, concerning which it can now be truly said, he is baptized. However, such an one

despises neither the inward nor the outward baptism, but rather I believe he who puts on Christ puts on (accepts) with Him at the same time the whole counsel of God and speaks with the converted soul from the whole heart and free will: Lord, what wilt thou, that I shall do?

Finally it is to be considered that as faith and believing are different, so is there also a great difference between a sound and an unsound faith. Concerning which St. Paul admonishes Titus, his upright son, that he should rebuke those sharply upon this that they should be sound in the faith. Tit. 1: 13. Just as a sick man cannot do what to a well man is easy to do, so an unsound faith cannot believe all that otherwise to a sound faith is very easy to believe, and this therefore cannot be the victory which overcomes the world.

I must freely confess that I have observed in the whole dialogue concerning baptism a very great unsoundness of faith in our beloved Churchman; particularly where he himself testifies that he cannot believe that John the Baptist could have been able to baptize all the people by immersion that he did baptize. He says: He (John) was no Samson and was neither steel nor iron that he could stand in the water continually! It seems to me that common sense without almost any faith could judge of this affair better than this. However, I have often observed that an unsound faith can cause unsoundness in reason or judgment, whereas a sound faith is alone able to heal a weak reason and keep it in a sound state. Therefore, a sound faith should hold firmly to God's Word which always heals where herbs and plasters cannot heal.

Composer of Sacred Hymns.

The early Brethren were noted writers of hymns. To assert that any one of them is prominent in this respect is high praise, indeed, and yet it may be safely asserted that with the exception of Jacob Stoll, Alexander Mack was one of the most gifted composers of sacred poetry in the colonial church. Nos. 34 and 36 of Elder Sower's *Geistliche Magazin* are written by Elder Mack. Both are extended poems.

When his companion and friend, Elder Christopher Sower, was buried on August 27, 1784, Elder Mack, too sorely stricken to speak, composed for the service a touchingly beautiful hymn.[1]

Now breaks the earthly house en-twain,
Now can this mortal frame decay;
The pilgrimage is brought to end.
Now can the spirit fly away.
The soul at last has overcome.
Through Jesus was the vict'ry won.

Now unto Jesus will I go,
Who died for me, as mortals die;
And found for me, through pain and woe,
A place, a refuge, in the sky.
He has for me a better house,
In store prepared, above the clouds.

Shed not so many tears for me,
My friends and my companions dear;

(1) See *Psalterspiel*, p. 496.

You can believe, I now am free,
From every mortal care and fear.
O! look unto the Lamb once slain,
Through whom you can redemption gain.

My staff through life, I leaned upon
Was longing for a patient faith;
For Jesus spake unto my soul,
From all my debt a full relief,
Like frost, when touched at op'ning day,
By sunlight, quickly melts away.

Speak not of others' worthiness,
But only of what Jesus done;
The world with all its vanities,
Can never save a single one.
Redemption has appeared to men,
Through Jesus' grief, and dying pain.

Before me as I write lies the private diary of this pious man. It is in manuscript and has never been published. What a mine of gold! When its full contents are made known, the memory of this godly elder will be cherished in every believing heart. It contains in all 277 pages, and the limited space at my disposal allows of only the most meagre attention.

As early as 1772, January 28th, the anniversary of his birth, he composed a hymn of praise to Almighty God for his loving and preserving care. This custom he continued almost uninterruptedly upon each succeeding anniversary until the year of his death, 1803. In all there are twenty-three of these remarkable poems.

The last ones, written in 1800, 1801, and 1802, together with one composed December 27, 1801, are here given in his own hand-writing. They are remarkable evidences of mental and spiritual vigor at the age of four score and ten years.

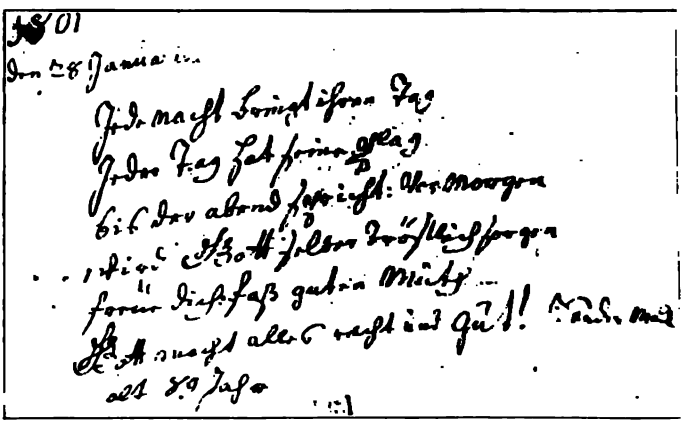
Alexander Mack's Birthday Hymn in 1800.

1800, January 28.

Now have eighty-eight years
Of my mortal life gone by;

Faith has taught me steadfastly
For a future life to wait.
If doubts come to assail me,
My Jesus will not fail me
The scorned crown of thorns
He will grant me as my reward.(1)

ALEXANDER MACK.



Alexander Mack's Birthday Hymn in 1801

1801, January 28.

Every night brings a new day,
Each day has its own care,
Till evening say, For to-morrow
God himself will tenderly care.
Rejoice then and take new courage,
God does all things well and right.

SANDER MACK, aged 80 years

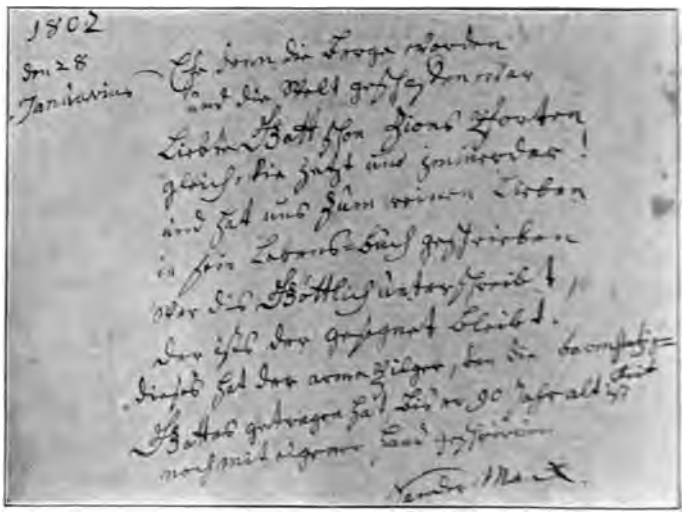
(1) [illegible] the German must be [illegible]

Hymn Composed by Alexander Mack Dec. 27, 1801.

1801, December 27.

Jesus, name so heavenly fair,
Turns to sweetness the bitter waters,
Source of light so merciful,
Come, destroy the darkness now!
Jehovah, a firm rock will stand,
When earthly things must pass away.
Justice is His castle strong,
Upon which rock is set His throne.
Righteousness His right hand gives,
At his left the Sword is sharpened.
He who seeks his refuge in God's house
Let him cast all evil from his heart.

[Written by Sander Mack's own hand.]



Alexander Mack's Last Birthday Hymn, 1802.

1802, January 28.

Before the mountains were made
And the world was created,
God loved the Gates of Zion,
Just as now and forevermore.
And out of pure loving
He has written us in the book of life.
Whoever signs his name thereto,
Will remain in blessed state.

The poor pilgrim whom the mercy of God has sustained unto his 90th year has written this yet with his own hand.

SANDER MACK.

How One Wins the Price [of Salvation].

Who works not by his own strength,
But by the grace of the highest,
Learns by pious deeds
Love, humility, and patience,
Becomes clean of conscience
And small in heart and thought;
Idleness, splendor, and delicacies
Avoids, as well as a bad conscience—
Who at all times accuses himself
He wins it from every one.

The Wise Virgin.

Esther desires nothing but what
Hegai, the King's Chamberlain said.
The wise soul has no delight
In false ornaments,
She loves Christ's counsel
And follows, in all ways,
The wise Hegai's words,
The true spirit of wisdom;
Therefore the King loves her
And shows her many favors,
And Esther found grace with all.

From a letter written by Elder Martin Urner in 1771, it appears that Alexander Mack was a weaver.[1] Perhaps he learned the trade from good old Peter Becker. He was a vigorous man physically.

(1) This is abundantly confirmed in his diary. He was a widely-known weaver of stockings and maker of caps and shirts. Brother William Dishong was the foreman of Elder Mack's weaving establishment and succeeded him in the business.

As late as 1794 he walked ten miles in one day. He was then eighty-two years old. He was married January 1, 1749, to Elizabeth Nice,[2] daughter of William Nice. To this union were given eight children:

(1) *William*, born October 31, 1749. He became a blacksmith, and early in his youth he went with Brother Henry Schlingluff to the Antietam country and worked at his trade with one Daniel Steiner. October 13, 1772, he married Agnes Gantz, to whom Elder Mack in his will bequeaths one-fifth of his entire estate. They had one son, Jacob, born August 29, 1773. No record of other children is made by Alexander Mack.

(2) *Anna Maria*, born October 29, 1752. She was married June 6, 1769, and died April 5, 1770, "after spending ten months, less one day, in the sorrowful state of matrimony." Death was due to child-birth. She left an infant son whom Alexander Mack named Jonas. This child died July 31, 1770, aged "four months and eleven hours." The name of Anna Maria's husband is not known.

(3) *Sarah Margareta*, born December 23, 1753. She married Jacob Zeigler February 2, 1776. Was baptized September 3, 1769, and died September 8, 1790. To them was born a son on Saturday, December 7, 1776.

[2] Elizabeth Mack, wife of Alexander Mack, is buried in Germantown between the graves of her husband and her husband's father. See page 20 for inscription on her gravestone.

(4) *Hannah*, born September 10, 1755. Married Adam Weaver, August 27, 1775. To them was born a son, June 18, 1776, whom they named Alexander. This son died May 11, 1795.

(5) *Alexander*, born January 18, 1758, and his father records as follows: "1760, March 26, he has been recalled from us by temporal death, and has joined my dear father and mother in the eternal rest and blessedness."

(6) *Lydia*, born Sunday, January 4, 1761. Married Dielman Kolb in 1779. To them were born three children, Jacob, Rebecca, and Elizabeth. Dielman Kolb died after a long and painful illness on Wednesday, December 14, 1785. She was married the second time on July 15, 1788, to Jacob Lentz, a baker in Philadelphia.

(7) *Elizabeth*, born May 2, 1763, died of smallpox May 29, 1770.

(8) *Anna Margaretha*, born July 31, 1765. Named for her grandmother Mack. Married Emmanuel Fox July 22, 1784. To them was born September 22, 1797, a daughter, Maria. This daughter was "summoned home and fell asleep October 22, 1798."

His will provides that his wife shall enjoy the income of his estate, and at her death he bequeathed to four daughters and his daughter-in-law, or to the children of them, all his estate real and personal, share and share alike; and appoints his wife and his son-in-law, Emmanuel Fox, his executors. He was

at the time of his death possessed of thirty acres of land in Germantown and in Springfield Township. Upon this stood his dwelling.[1] He also owned twenty-three acres of timber land in Springfield Township, adjoining lands of John Huston and others.

It will be seen from this that he was not a poor man. His industry and frugality enabled him to possess enough of this world's goods to do what he wrote to his brother Valentine in 1748 he wished to do, "eat my own bread, yet, under the blessing of God."

His wife's sisters were married to Peter Leibert and Henry Sharpnack, well-known brethren at Germantown. For those men he always cherished the warmest regard and to them he gave the benediction of a noble life.

The last winter of his life was passed in his house, with occasional trips to the public services he so long attended and so feelingly conducted. With what emotions must his congregation have witnessed his tottering steps as he slowly made his way to the ministers' bench in the little meetinghouse! His life-work was done, and he lingered yet a little longer to comfort his followers and to plead for Christian charity. Soon after New Year's day, 1803, he was obliged to give up all out-door activity; but this did

(1) This house stood with the gable to the street. It contained six rooms; attached to it was a two-story kitchen. On the premises were a bake-oven, a barn, and a stable or shed for cows.

not prevent him from pleading for the poor widow at the gate. His last letter was written to the congregation in behalf of a poor old widow named Stierli from Philadelphia.

It seems that this old widow had been a member of the congregation and had fallen away. She came in the autumn and begged to be fully received again, but was refused "for the reason of her changeable nature, and her still too great ingratitude." He describes her as a "poor, needy, weak, and with several boils on her head, badly suffering widow, who lies before our door and craves to nourish herself with the crumbs that fall from our table." Although the congregation did not receive her into the Widow's Home, an institution that had been long maintained by the congregation, a few brethren at the Thursday's meeting agreed to give her "during these hard times" a quarter of flour every month. Elder Mack adds, "I would have been better pleased had they added a pound of butter." He expresses the hope that when the New Year's day shall have come, the brethren would add that pound of butter. The day came and the brethren took away the quarter of flour from the poor old woman. "Then my thoughts stood still. The reflections on this subject have gradually in this New Year plunged my soul into sorrow." He could not rest. A few members were called to his room and as a result he announces, "that on next Saturday a quarter of good flour and

a pound of good butter" shall go to the old widow. He closes this appeal with the words, "Whoever among the brethren is sure in his mind that the widow belongs in the 'House for the Poor' to him God will give so much wisdom that he can persuade her to make the request to be received therein. Until then she lies at our door."(1)

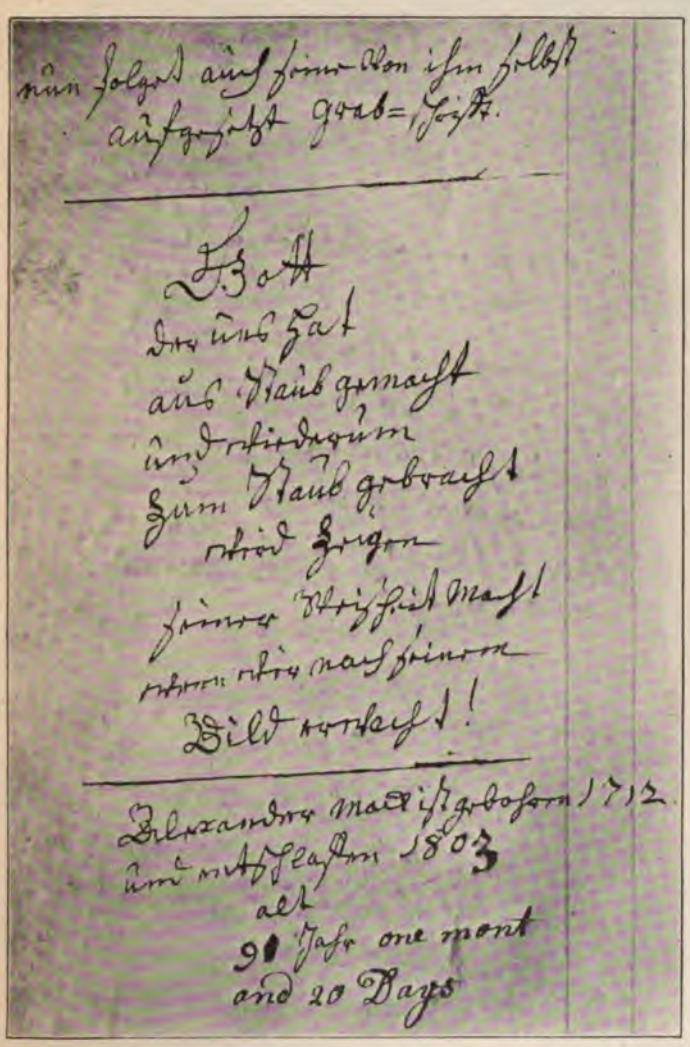
He is also the author of a manuscript discussion of doctrinal questions, twenty-two of which he asks and answers. The paper is too long for insertion here, and must be left for subsequent publication.

After he had provided for the poor widow he was happy and on March 20, 1803, in the presence of his wife and many of his children and grandchildren he quietly closed his eyes to the familiar scenes around him to open them in wonder and in joy in the presence of his God.

So strongly was he impressed with the date of his death that he composed his own epitaph and noted on it the year of his death, 1802, leaving the month and day blank. He lived only a few months beyond the day he noted. He was seldom known to visit even the family of his daughter Hannah Weber who lived in Germantown. But late in 1802, one Sunday after services he went to her home for dinner. After he had spent some time with her he called her aside and gave her a slip of paper containing in his own

(1) Original MS from the Cassel collection now in my possession.

Gravestones of Alexander Mack, his Son Alexander, and his Son's Wife Elizabeth.



nun folget auch seine von ihm selbst
aufgesetzt grab=schrifft.

Gott
der uns hat
aus Staub gemacht
und wiederum
zum Staub gebracht
wird zeigen
seiner Weisheit macht
wenn wir nach seinem
Bild erwacht!

Alexander Mack ist gebohren 1712
und entschlafen 1803
alt
91 Jahr one mont
and 20 Days

Alexander Mack's Epitaph in his own Handwriting.

hand the following lines, and said to her, "This is now my last visit with you. My time has come. When I am gone see to it that the lines written here are placed on my gravestone."

Now follows also his epitaph composed by himself.

God
Who made us
Out of dust
And again
To dust returns us,
He will show
His Wisdom's plan,
When we awake
To bear His likeness.

Alexander Mack was born 1712
And fell asleep 1802[3]
Aged
90[1] years [1 month and 20 days]

3. The Two Martin Urners.

"Martin Urner of blessed memory," so with affection and respect was the first elder of the Coventry church spoken of by his assistant in the ministry, George Adam Martin. Martin Urner was the first elder ordained in America. He was a son of Ulrich Urner a native of the canton of Uri in Switzerland. Persecution drove the Urners to Alsace in France about 1682. Here in 1695 Martin Urner was born.

In 1708[1] Ulrich Urner and his three sons, Jacob, Hans, and Martin, emigrated to Pennsylvania and settled perhaps in Roxborough, now a part of Philadelphia. The family soon removed to Lancaster County. He lived here as early as 1712.[2] Six years later he purchased 450 acres of land on the Schuylkill, on part of which now stands the Coventry meetinghouse. Here his industry and business insight made him a prosperous farmer. In 1722 he was attracted to Philadelphia, with many others, to hear the celebrated preacher Christian Libe, who was currently but erroneously reported to have sailed for America. Failing to hear Libe, he visited Peter Becker at Germantown and became deeply concerned for his soul's salvation. The visits between Urner and Becker were repeated until Christmas Day, 1723, when Peter Becker baptized Martin Urner and his wife, and four others in the Wissahickon Creek. On the evening of the same day they participated in the first love feast celebrated in America. It was held in the house of John Gomorry in Germantown.

In the autumn of 1724, the memorable missionary tour of the Brethren occurred. On November 7, 1724, the Coventry church was formally organized. This is the second oldest congregation in America. Nine persons constituted the first organization: Martin Urner and his wife, Catharine; Harry Landis and wife,

(1) Morgan Edwards says in 1715.

(2) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 437.

Peter Heffly, Daniel Eicher and wife, Owen Longacre, and Andrew Sell.[1]

Here on the Schuylkill Peter Becker preached to the new congregation, assisted by Martin Urner until 1729, when Alexander Mack came to America and ordained Brother Urner to the eldership. He was a successful elder, and the Coventry church was never rent by schisms, nor seriously interfered with by the Ephrata movement not far away. This shows the great wisdom and foresight of Elder Urner. The Coventry church prospered from the beginning, and was soon a much larger congregation than the mother congregation in Germantown. Elder Urner was assisted in his ministry by Casper Ingles of whom little is known. He baptized, in 1735, George Adam Martin, who was previously a Reformed, and a member of the congregation over which presided the celebrated Peter Miller, afterwards the leading spirit of the Ephrata community.[2]

In 1737, Martin Urner went to the Great Swamp to baptize several persons. On this journey he was accompanied by George Adam Martin, who was then from all accounts a minister of the church. At this baptism, as was customary from the first baptism at Schwarzenau, Elder Urner read to the candidates Luke 14: 25–33.

(1) Andrew Sell was baptized before 1724, either in Germany or, more likely, at Germantown earlier in the year.

(2) Peter Miller joined the Ephrata Society in May, 1735.

This Scripture seemed to Brother Martin unsuited to the occasion. He cried out against it. Elder Urner said, "What shall we do then? for something must be read to these people." Brother Martin answered, "The 18th chapter of Matthew about exhortation and punishment, might be read." Elder Urner accepted this suggestion and was the first to use this now universally used Scripture on such occasions.

In 1742 Elder Urner was asked to join in the famous Zinzendorf Synods. He sent Brother Martin as delegate from the Coventry church. The sequel of this is portrayed at length in the subsequent chapter on Annual Meeting. Elder Urner was really the official father of the Annual Meeting and no doubt presided over the one in 1742. It is my opinion that this first Annual Meeting was held in his house.

His actions on these two important occasions have been universally approved and followed by the Brotherhood ever since. He is thus intimately identified with the practice of the church, and next to Mack, the most significant elder in our early history.

He was married to Catherine Reist. Their children were Mary, wife of Andrew Wolff; Martin, who married Elizabeth Edis or Addis;[1] Jacob, who married Barbara Light; Catherine, who never married, and John, who also never married.

His wife Catharine died in April, 1752, and he was

(1) Elizabeth Edis or Addis was a widow, her maiden name being Grubb

Gravestone of Martin Urner, Sr.

subsequently married to Barbara ——, who survived him, dying May 8, 1796, aged eighty-four years. To this union there were no children.

Elder Urner died March 29, 1755, and is buried in the Coventry Brethren Graveyard.

For the biographic facts in this sketch of Martin Urner, I am indebted to Isaac L. Urner, LL. D., whose "*Genealogy of the Urner Family*" and "*History of the Coventry Brethren Church*"[1] are valuable contributions to the literature of the church. Through his enterprise the Coventry Brethren Burying Ground has been made a model of neatness, simple beauty, and permanence. The gateway is reproduced here to stimulate other congregations to provide proper sleeping-places for the precious dead.

The Second Martin Urner.

Martin Urner's successor in the eldership of the Coventry church was his own nephew, Martin Urner, son of Jacob Urner. He was born Sept. 4, 1725, and was married to Barbara Switzer by Elder Christoph Sower, July 15, 1751.[2] He was a man of considerable wealth and a preacher of great wisdom and power. His ordination to the office of elder occurred in 1756. For forty-three years he directed this congregation with remarkable success.

(1) These works may be had of the Author, Dr. I. L. Urner, Parkerford, Pa. Through his generosity the volumes have been donated to the library of Juniata College.

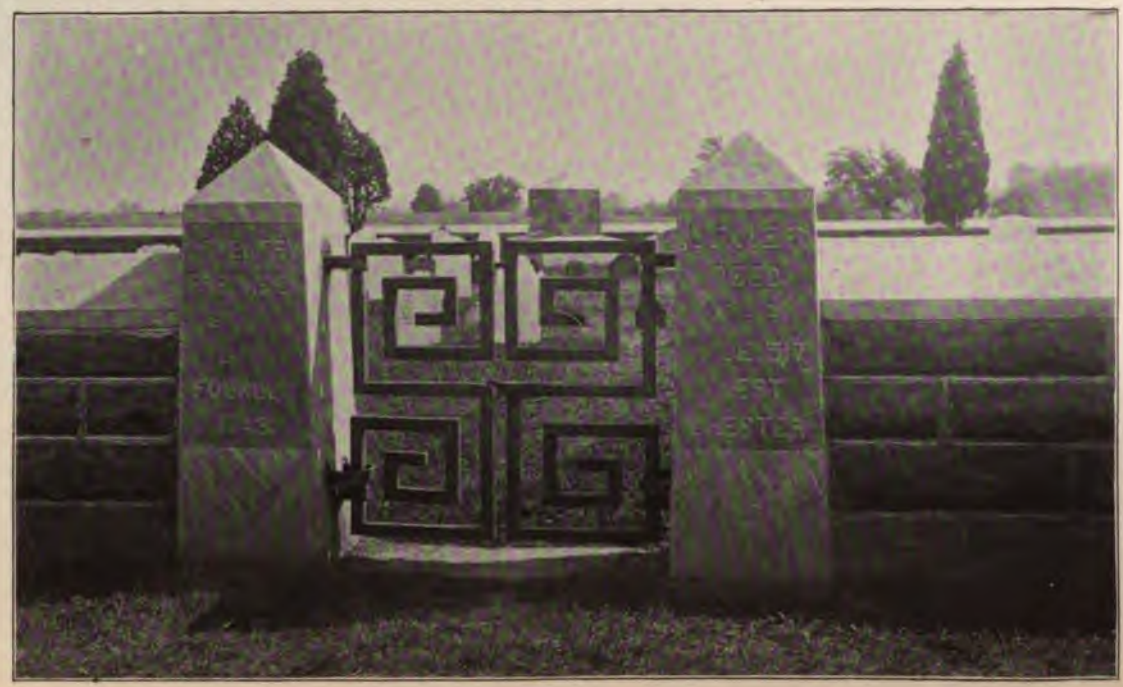
(2) From Manuscript Diary of Christopher Sower in my library.

Under his ministry the first house of worship for this congregation was erected in 1772. This was the second house of worship built by the Brethren in America. Prior to this the congregation met for divine services in the houses of five different members in a kind of rotation, although it is probable that the meetings were held most frequently at "Belwood farm," the home of Elder Urner and also of his uncle, the first Martin Urner.

This Martin Urner was a noted revivalist. In a letter from the Antietam country in 1772, from Nicholas Martin to Alexander Mack, reference is made to Elder Urner's revival work in the southern part of the Cumberland Valley. Brother Martin says, "Since the dear Brother Urner has been with us we dare not deny that the grace of God has been given us in a large measure, the number of disciples is increased many fold, while also some of them seem to be fervently awakened souls, and it almost seems as if the last would be first."[1]

Between Martin Urner and Alexander Mack the Christian tie was strong. They loved each other devotedly. From Elder Mack, Martin Urner purchased his stockings and such other woolen garments as Elder Mack manufactured. In return for this, Elder Urner supplied Alexander Mack with grain, butter and flour.

[1] From Manuscript in Cassel collection now in my library



Entrance to the Coventry Burying Ground.

In a letter dated "October 30, 1766, at Coventry[1] in the Schuylkill" Elder Urner writes,

"*My Dear Brother Alexander Mack:*—May God give thee much grace, peace, and blessing, as well as all thy dear ones. Yes; may the Lord greet you with his peace and may he reveal himself to you by putting his strength into your heart. Amen. I send you by this opportunity the letter which has been brought to me and which our brethren have sent from the Great Meeting.[2] You will please read it and ponder it well with me.

Further I send you thirty-five bushels of ground corn and three bushels of wheat and ten pounds of butter. . . . I hope to be able to send you the other seventeen bushels of wheat soon. . . . I report to you further that the dear Brother Michael Pfautz was here with me. He has also handed me twenty shillings from Peter Guthman for you, which, as it appears, Guthman once borrowed from you and now he wishes to repay it. . . . Be ye both, dear brother and sister, greeted and kissed from us poor, unworthy worms—who nevertheless live in the hope that He is faithful who has loved us."[3]

[Signed] Martin Urner

BARBARA URNER.

---

(1) Note that as early as 1766 this place was called Coventry, which is the only proper name for the congregation.

(2) Note reference here to an Annual Meeting in 1766. This letter came by the hand of Elder Michael Frantz. The meeting was probably held at Conestoga.

(3) Original MS. in my possession.

Again on October 31, 1771, he writes[1] to Elder Mack and sends him twenty bushels of corn and fifteen bushels of wheat, ground, the corn at four shillings per bushel and the wheat at five shillings. The amount was to be credited on the account for stockings and dyed cloth. He expresses regret that he cannot visit in Germantown, arranges for a meeting with Elder Mack at Rudolph Harley's on November 10, 1771, and closes with a touching tribute of Christian love.

Elder Urner accompanied Elder Christopher Sower on a memorable tour of the congregations in Eastern Pennsylvania in 1780, reference to which is made under the sketch of Elder Sower.

David Urner, of Springfield, Ohio, is responsible for the following anecdote:[2]

"I never saw my grandfather, Martin Urner, as he died a few years before I was born. I learned, however, from an old friend, that he was esteemed by his brethren in the church and ministry as a preacher of more than ordinary ability; so much so, that at their Yearly Meetings he was always one of the number that were called upon to preach. My friend said that on one occasion when the Yearly Meeting was held in Philadelphia,[3] as the preachers from the country were jogging along on horseback,

(1) Original MS. in my possession.

(2) Given in I. N. Urner's *History of the Coventry Brethren Church*, p. [illegible]

(3) The meeting was evidently held at Germantown, not at Philadelphia. The date is not known, perhaps 1791.

Gravestone of Martin Urner, Jr.

going to that meeting, one of the preachers said to my grandfather, 'As you will no doubt be called upon to preach at this meeting, I want you to preach particularly against the wearing of fine clothes, as the brethren and sisters of Philadelphia are becoming entirely too fashionable in their dress.' And although he urged the matter lengthily, he thought my grandfather did not give all heed to what he said, and asked, 'Did you hear what I said?' The answer was, 'Yes.' The next question was, 'Will you do it?' My grandfather replied, 'If I am called on to preach, I hope I shall have something of more importance than to talk to people about the rags with which they cover themselves.'"

April 8, 1781, Elder Urner baptized David and Esther, son and daughter of Elder Christopher Sower; and one of Elder Sower's last services to the church was to baptize Martin Urner,(3) son of Elder Martin Urner, and his wife Barbara.

The friendship between Elder Sower and Elder Urner was intimate. This, together with-the-before-noted tie of love between Elder Urner and Elder Mack warrants the assumption that the two congregations, Coventry and Germantown, were most harmonious and helpfully coöperative. When Elder Sower died in 1784, Elder Martin Urner preached the funeral sermon, assisted by Samuel Hopkins.

Martin Urner's wife died April 23, 1794, and on

(3) This Martin Urner was born July 28, 1762, and died February 4, 1838. His wife was Barbara Baugh, born December 6, 1766, died March 17, 1842.

May 18, 1799, he was laid to rest in the Coventry Brethren graveyard.

He was a worthy successor of a worthy elder, and to these two men, uncle and nephew, we are indebted for a remarkably able administration of the holy office they so nobly honored. Upon their long ministry there rests no shadow. Over their life-work lays lovingly the light of God's welcome, "Well done."

CHAPTER IX.—Colonial Congregations.

Details are always difficult of access and of great interest. In the concrete working of the congregations one can learn best the lessons of church development. An exhaustive inquiry has yielded a fairly satisfactory fund of material relating to the early churches. The Revolutionary War opened up vast areas of territory in the West. Into this late in the last and early in the present century the members of the church moved. The ancestors of these western members were in the colonial congregations clustered in the valleys east of the Allegheny Mountains. A study of these earliest congregations is, therefore, a study of the formative forces in the entire Brotherhood. Believing that a careful and relatively complete study of these churches will be of paramount value this chapter is presented at length.

The Coventry Congregation.

The Coventry congregation dates from September 7, 1724. It is the second congregation in America. The first members are given under the sketch of the life of Martin Urner, its first resident elder. From 1724 to 1729, Peter Becker was their leading minister; during those years Martin Urner was called to the ministry.

This congregation has been well managed and is to the present in a flourishing condition. Before 1772, divine worship was conducted in the houses of five members in some sort of rotation. Then the first meetinghouse was erected. The second meetinghouse was built in 1817.[1]

In 1890 the present new and commodious building was erected.

This congregation had three unique conditions to face: (1) It was near the Conestoga country, the hot-bed of discussions and the refuge of all discontented spirits. This proximity did not in any serious way retard the work of the congregation, although it did lose George Adam Martin, a man of unusual promise and of superior training. (2) It was near the English Seventh Day Baptist settlement in Nantmill Township in Chester County. This movement had its initiative in Philadelphia, spread to Newtown Square, and thence to the Schuylkill country near the present site of Harmonyville.[2] (3) Emigration from the Coventry congregation to the Bermudian, Antietam, and Conococheague country, and to Maryland and Virginia depleted its ranks. It is perhaps correct to say that the Coventry church was more fertile in missionary work and in spreading the truth than any other of the Colonial congregations.

1: James Wells was the architect.

2: For a complete account of this movement see *Historic Churches of America*. Philadelphia: H. L. Everett, publisher.

Coventry Brethren Church. Second Building. Erected in 1817.

By permission of Dr. I. N. Urner.

A relatively complete list of the ministers of this congregation is given by Dr. I. N. Urner as follows:

Martin Urner,.....	born	1695,	died	1755.
Martin Urner, Jr.,...	"	1725,	"	1799.
Jonas Urner,.....	"	1772,	"	1813.
Casper Ingles,.....	"		"	
Peter Rinehart,.....	"	1733,	"	1806.
Martin Rinehart,....	"	1757,	"	1820.
Abraham Rinehart,..	"	1770,	"	1842.
George Price,.....	"	1753,	"	1823.
John Price, Sr.,.....	"	1782,	"	1850.
John Price, Jr.,.....	"	1810,	"	1879.
Jacob Harley,.....	"	1786,	"	1842.
John Harley,.....	"	1812,	"	1895.
David Keim,.....	"	1802,	"	1897.
Peter Hollowbush,..	"	1805,	"	1872.
Jacob Conner,.....	"	1834.		
Isaac Urner Brower,	"	1844.		
Jesse P. Hetrick,...	"	1844.		
John Y. Eisenberg,..	"	1840.		
Lewis M. Keim,.....	"	1873.		

Of the two Martin Urners and of Peter Becker, the organizer and first preacher, we have already written.

JONAS URNER was a son of the second Martin Urner. He began to preach at an early age. In 1811 he removed to Carroll County, Maryland, and became a minister in the Pipe Creek church. He died May 13, 1813, and is buried in the Wolfe graveyard. He was married to Hannah Rinehart who survived him many years. She died August 13, 1845. To them were born

ten children, Samuel, Mary, David, Lydia, George, Sarah, Elizabeth, Nathan, Hannah, and Mrs. David Cunningham of Tiffin, Ohio.

CASPER INGLES:—Of this preacher nothing is known beyond the fact that he was assistant to Martin Urner, the first resident elder.

THE RINEHARTS:—Ulrich Rinehart came to America in 1733, in the ship *Hope*. He was twice married. By his first wife he had four sons,—Peter, the minister, Frederick, Ulrich, and John.

By his second wife he had at least two sons; Martin, the preacher, and David. Abraham was a grandson of the above named Ulrich.

THE PRICES were descendants of Jacob Preisz of Indian Creek. Elder George Price was of the fourth generation of Prices. He was born November 1st, 1753. He married Sarah Harley. He had three sons and three daughters; Daniel, John, George, Maria, Hannah, and Sarah.

Of these John was a preacher, at Coventry. He began to preach so young that he was called "the boy preacher." He was an eminent preacher in two languages. He gave three sons to the ministry.—Isaac, the widely-known and beloved elder at Green Tree, whose anti-slavery and temperance principles made him a leader on these questions; George, at Green Tree; and John, who succeeded his father at Coventry.

THE HARLEYS:—With Elder Alexander Mack in 1729 came "Rudolph Harli," the father of all the Harleys in the church. He had one daughter and one son, Rudolph. Rudolph the second married Mary, daughter of Peter Becker. They had thirteen children. Among these were Hannah, wife of Ulrich Stauffer; Rudolph, who married Barbara Bach; Sarah, wife of Elder George Price of the Coventry church; and Samuel, who married Catherine Sower, daughter of Elder Christopher Sower. Samuel founded Harleysville and is the grandfather of Abraham H. Cassel, the Antiquarian. Jacob Harley, of the Coventry ministry, was a son of the third Rudolph, above named. He was the last preacher to use the German language in the Coventry church.

ELDER DAVID KEIM was a son of Jacob Keim. David Keim removed in 1845, to Warwick Township and became the founder of the Brethren community at Harmonyville, Pa.

PETER HOLLOWBUSH was born in Limerick Township June 2, 1805, was a miller by trade, married in 1828 Hannah Wilson, united with the church in 1840, was elected to the ministry November 5, 1842, and was a faithful and zealous worker for the Lord.

Of the other ministers of this congregation no sketch is attempted because they are living. They are all earnest and efficient laborers for the Lord, and are doing his work well. The Coventry church is now one hundred and seventy-five years old. It

has had a continuous growth under able and godly guidance.

In 1770, forty members were in communion at Coventry. Their names are given here.

Elder Martin Urner and wife, Peter Rinehart, minister, Owen Rinehart, Henry Dasker and wife, Nicholas Harwick and wife, Abraham Grubb and wife, Christian Monsieur, Barbara Miller, Barbara Welty, Frederick Rinehart and wife, Barbara Urner, Elizabeth Ingles, Catharine Grumbacker, Catharine Bach, John Eiker, Jacob Pfautz and wife, Abraham Bach, Andrew Woolf, Easther Switzer, Wendle Danfelder, Henry Bear and wife, Jacob Switzer and wife, Maud Rinehart, Jacob Light and wife, Philip Waggoner and wife, Elizabeth Halderman, Anthony Bernard and daughter, John Light and wife.

Great Swamp Congregation.

In the year 1733, the Great Swamp congregation was organized in Bucks County. Elder John Naas from Amwell, New Jersey, preached here and as a result in the above year he baptized Salome Miller, her brother Joseph Miller, John Brech and wife, Peter Longenecker and Peter Rhodes.

Here also preached Elder Peter Becker and Elder Martin Urner, as early as 1735. In this year these brethren baptized Hans Zug [Zuck] and wife, John Sleifer, and John Frick and wife. At the same time a communion service was held, Elder Becker officiat-

ing. This congregation was formally organized in 1735, with eleven members. In 1752 Count Zinzendorf led some away. In 1738, Abraham Duboy became their resident minister. For a sketch of his life see the preceding chapter on The Leaders in Germany.

When Abraham Duboy died, March 21, 1748, John Frick became the preacher to the congregation. In his house the congregation worshiped. He was not ordained to the eldership prior to 1770, and after that date no record of his ordination is known to the writer. In 1770, about twenty families were identified with the congregation; of whom the following were baptized and in full communion: John Frick, minister, and wife, Laurence Erboch and wife, Andrew Meinzinger, John Demud [Demuth] and wife, John Sleifer and wife, Henry Kun, Philip Goodman and wife, Philip Deal, Frederick Deal, John Redroch and wife, Egite Christian and wife, Ludowick Christian and wife, Jacob Staut and wife, Mary Christian, Widow Rinker, Catherine Rinker, Widow Olinger, Widow Crayling, Freny Trissel.

Oley Congregation.

As early as 1732, Peter Becker preached at Oley. Among the members then joining the church was one Ritters, Shilbert, Blaush, and others. The church was from the first a prey for Moravian and Ephrata missionaries. Elder George Kleine ministered to

them for many years. This church was greatly reduced in numbers by removals to the Conococheague. Especially in 1743, a large number of the Oley members removed to the latter place.

At the Little Swartara meeting, August 12, 1780, Martin Gaby was ordained elder of this congregation by Elders Christopher Sower[1] and Martin Urner. At the same time and place Brother Daniel Kintzy was ordained to the office of deacon in the Oley congregation.

In 1770 about twelve families were identified with the Oley congregation. Twenty persons were in communion, as follows: Martin Gaby, minister, and wife, John Joder, minister, and wife, Conrad Price and wife, David Price and wife, David Kinsey and wife, Christian Kinsey and wife, Peter Kleine, Elizabeth Ellis, Margaret Harpine, Catherine Plank, Daniel Kleine and wife.

Conestoga Congregation.

The history of this congregation is full of interest. It was organized November 12, 1724, by Elder Peter Becker. Conrad Beissel was chosen minister. The membership was as follows: Conrad Beissel, Joseph Shaffer, John Moyer and wife, Henry Höhn and wife, and Veronica Frederick. The congregation was soon reinforced by the baptism of Sigmund Landert and

(1) Record of this is found in the MS. diary of Elder Christopher Sower.

wife. The first meetings were held on the Mill Creek. They soon removed to the house of Rudolph Nägele in Earl township where they worshiped for seven years. During these seven years Beissel developed his strange ideas, and in 1728 withdrew from the Brotherhood. Many of the members followed him. This group in 1732 removed to Ephrata.

The members who did not follow Beissel were ministered to by Elder Peter Becker until 1734, when on September 29, they formed an independent congregation, with Elder Michael Frantz as their leader He was ordained in 1735. In this original group of Conestoga members were Michael Pfautz, Rant Woolf, John Frantz, Emick Reyer [Royer], George Reyer, John Landis, Samuel Good, Henry Sneider, Philip Rowland and others. Elder Frantz died in 1748[1] and Elder Michael Pfautz was his successor until 1763 when Jacob Sontag was ordained elder.

On the authority of Abraham H. Cassel, the following somewhat remarkable method was used September 29, 1734, to determine the loyalty of the members. A great meeting or council of the congregation was held and Michael Frantz placed a rail on the floor of the barn in which the meeting was held. He then requested all who wished to join the new congregation to step to the right side, he leading the way. He also requested all those who desired to fol-

(1) This is the date given by the official records of the congregation in my possession. Morgan Edwards also gives 1748.

low Conrad Beissel to step to the left side of the rail. In this way a peaceful separation occurred and the above named members joined the reorganized congregation.

Before the year 1734 had closed the revival spirit manifested itself in the church and the following were added to the membership: Brother Vogan, Hans George Koch and wife, Rudolph Bolinger, Ernst Stoll and wife, Joseph Latschan and wife, Ludwig Kalckglässer and wife, Hans Keppinger and wife, Brother Luys [Lewis] and wife, Samuel Gut, Hans Hildebrand and wife, Gottfried Geiger, and Sister Kropf [Krupp]. Of these the Kalckglässers, the Keppingers, and Sisters Latschan and Luys were members elsewhere and became members of the Conestoga church by moving into its territory.

Michael Frantz

Was an eminent preacher among the early Brethren, and the first settled minister of the old Conestoga church. He was born in the Canton of St. Jacob, near Basle, in Switzerland, in the year 1687, came to America in September, 1727, and settled in the vicinity of the Cocalico, in Lancaster County, Pa., where he soon became convinced of the truth of the doctrines as they are held forth by the Brethren. Consequently he was received into the fellowship of the "little flock" which had been separated from the parent church of Ephrata, on account of the

innovations that were being introduced by the mystic Conrad Beissel.

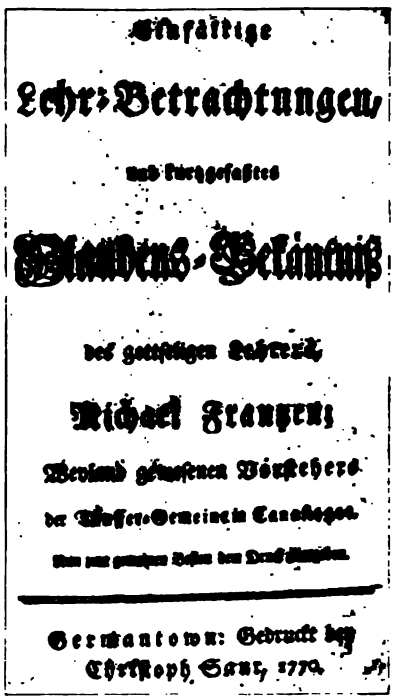
He was baptized by Peter Becker on the 29th of September, 1734, the same day that Conestoga was organized into a separate church; and while it was otherwise unsupplied, this Brother Frantz was commissioned to serve them in the capacity of an exhorter, in which he approved himself so well that he was soon ordained by the imposition of hands to be their elder, and the next year (1735), he took upon him the entire care of the church, which he served with exemplary zeal and fidelity until the day of his death, December, 1747. One record says in the year 1748. His remains are buried in the old graveyard near the Cocalico. The following is an attempted translation of a little note or epitaph by an unknown hand:

"In this year, 1748, our Elder and Overseer, Michael Frantz, departed this life and has exchanged Time with Eternity, after being well tried by affliction.

"Farewell, on the Chariot of God,
We do not envy thee thy rest,
By angels thou'rt carried the road,
Toward the abode of the blest
To join in that heav'nly abode,
The host of the angelic choir,
To sing and rejoice in thy God,
To praise Him forever and ever."

Brother Frantz appears to have been an approved workman of the Lord, insomuch that the little church,

which consisted of but 20 members when he commenced his labors in it, increased to about 200 during the thirteen years of his ministry. "Surely


Einfältige
Lehr-Betrachtungen
Glaubens-Bekäntnis
Michael Frantzen
Germantown: Gedruckt bey
Christoph Saur, 1770.

Title Page of Michael Frantz's Book.

this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvelous in our eyes."

He was not only approved of as a good and efficient preacher but was also a very ready writer, and a

composer of religious hymns. Brother Christopher Saur of Germantown published a collection of his poetic and other productions, in 1770, under the title of "*Einfältige Lehr-Betrachtungen, und kurtzgefasztes Glaubens-Bekäntnisz des Gottseligen Lehrers, Michael Frantzen, Weyland gewesenen Vorstehers der Tauffer-gemeine in Canastogoe, nun zum gemeinen Besten dem Druck übergeben.*

Michael Pfautz.

Michael, or Hans Michael Pfautz, was another of those ancient worthies whose memory deserves more than a mere notice. He was born in the Palatinate of the Rhine in Germany, in 1709, and emigrated to this country in 1727, when about eighteen years of age. He came over in "the ship *William and Sarah* from Rotterdam, last from Dover, England, under command of Master Hill, as by clearance of his Majesty's Customs there."

They arrived early in September of the same year with 109 Palatines on board, when said master, being asked if he had any license from the Court of Great Britain for transporting these people, and what their intentions were in coming hither, said that he had no license or allowance for their transportation more than the above clearance, and that he believed they designed to settle in this province, etc. Then, at a meeting of the Board of the Provincial Council held at the Court House in Philadelphia on the 21st of the same

month[1] [September], all the male persons above the age of 16, were required to repeat and subscribe their name themselves to the following declaration:

"We subscribers, natives and late inhabitants of the Palatinate upon the Rhine and places adjacent, having transported ourselves and families into this Province of Pennsylvania, a colony subject to the Crown of Great Britain, in hopes and expectation of finding a retreat and peaceable settlement therein; do solemnly promise and engage that we will be faithful and bear true allegiance to his present Majesty, King George, the Second, and his successors, Kings of Great Britain, and will be faithful to the Proprietor of this Province; and that we will demean ourselves peaceably to all his said Majesty's subjects, and strictly observe and conform to the laws of England and of this Province, to the utmost of our power and the best of our understanding." After which they were landed and Michael Pfautz settled in the vicinity of the Brethren in Lancaster County, Pa., where he became convinced of the truth as held forth by the Brethren, and accordingly was baptized to their faith in 1739. In 1744, he was elected to the ministry, and approved himself so well that he was by the unanimous consent of the two churches advanced to the office of bishop or elder on the 25th of September, 1748, by the imposition of the hands of their elder, Michael Frantz, to be his succes-

(1) See Minutes of the Provincial Council of Pennsylvania, Vol. III. p. 253.

sor, which was but a few weeks before his departure. The care of the two churches then entirely devolved upon him. His labors were not only ardent, but from the records of the church they appear to have also been pre-eminently blessed, for during the first year of his oversight as elder, 57 persons were added to the church, and during the following years until 1755 nearly 100 more were added. Then, notwithstanding all the blessings that attended his labors, we find the following note: "That much trouble and temptation has fallen upon the overseer [elder] so that he has recorded nothing for seven years." These were undoubtedly dark, gloomy times not only for the over-

seer but for the whole church until 1762. Then it appears the "Candle of the Lord" began to shine upon him again, which brought him forth as "purified gold" from the "Pot of the Refiner," and tended to make his remaining years very useful in the vineyard of his Lord until He released him from his earthly labors. He died on the 14th of May, 1769, in the 60th year of his age. He was married to a Catharina Schlauch, by whom he had four children, many of whose descendants are still in fellowship with the Brethren, including many that were eminent in the ministry.

Jacob Sontag.

In 1763 the Conestoga church had a remarkable experience. The chief actor was Jacob Sontag. He was born in Germany in 1700, and came to this country on the ship *Harle*, Ralph Harle, Master, from Rotterdam. He landed and qualified Sept. 1, 1736, and settled in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. Here he was converted and baptized in 1743, by Elder Michael Frantz. He was a man of exemplary life and earnest zeal. For this reason, and because Elder Pfautz had more work than he could properly do, Jacob Sontag was, May 28, 1763, elected and ordained elder by Michael Pfautz. The next day he did an unprecedented thing. The circumstance is wholly inexplicable and, perhaps, without a parallel. The church record says:

"*Anno 1763 in May sind dem Bruder Jacob Sontag die Händ aufgelegt worden zum diener oder Vorsteher, aber den folgeten Tag kam er in die Versamlung und hat sein Amt und dienst vor der gantzen gemeinde wieder nieder und abgeleget, und hat her nach niemahls etwas von diesem dienst und amt angenommen weder bey unsers Vorstehers leben, noch nach seinem Tod. Hat also gäntzlich seinem amt abgesagt.*"

"Anno 1763 in May hands were laid on Brother Jacob Sontag as a minister or *vorsteher*, but the next day he came to the meeting and before the entire congregation he laid down his office and ministry, and has never afterwards accepted anything of this ministry and office, neither during the life of our elder, or af-

steher, nor after his death. Thus has he entirely renounced his office."

He remained simply a member of the congregation. He was married to a sister, Mary Landis, and had one son. Of his posterity nothing is known. Morgan Edwards, however, declared that, in 1770, he was in charge of the congregation, faithfully discharging his duties as elder. His death is noted in the records of the congregation, and also in Alexander Mack's diary, but in both places without date or age.

When Elder Pfautz died, May 14, 1769, he was succeeded in the eldership by Elder Christian Longenecker, the elder also at White Oak.

The records of the Conestoga congregation reveal remarkable growth, and it has seemed to the writer wise to append a list of members, together with the date of their baptism, in the hope that it may be of value to the many descendants of these early pioneer Christians in the Conestoga country.

Members who Joined the Church under the Eldership of Michael Frantz.

Hannes Stämply and wife, Bartlesig Christ and wife, Sister Eter, Balser Frantz and wife, Emich Reyer and wife, Hannes Fogely, Philip Roland, Hannes Landis, Hannes Miller and wife, who removed, Hannes Longenecker, who died in 1764, Christian Stander, Hans George Hönig, George Balser Reuer, Anton Dornbach, Emanuel Bralert, Hannes Schmit, Susan Schwartz,

George Reyer and wife, Sister Bolinger, a Sister Landis (who formerly was an Ephrataite), George Adam Martin, of whom an account is given in the Bermudian and Stony Creek congregations, Jacob Schweiger (Sweigert[?]) and wife, Hannes Lehr and wife.

In 1739 were added Paul Sieger and wife, Ludwig Mahler and wife, Michael Pfautz and wife, Hannes Huber, Jacob Martin and wife, Jacob Schwartz, Henry Mohler, George Mohler (who died aged seventy-two), Sebastian Ruthy (who died aged seventy-nine) and wife, Hannes Bernhard Wolf, Sisters Faren, Frantz, Brüderly, Bläs (wife of George Bläs), Longenecker, and Föglis.

In 1740 were added Jacob Stucky and wife, Hannes Gehr and wife, Jacob Kissel, George Mohler's wife, and Henry Mohler's wife.

In 1741 were added Frederick Altdorfer and wife, George Schwartz and wife, Christian Stander, Jr., Joseph Flory, Ulrich Scherck, Henry Dielman and wife, and Sister George Hög.

In 1742 were added Jacob Schautz, Matthes Gish and wife, Brother Dielman, Sr., Jacob Baer, Ludwig Bender and wife from the Ephrataites, Henry Weiss, Hannes Adam Schneider and wife, George Hög, Walter Vonderburg, Hannes Lautermilch and wife, Henry Miller, Hannes Mäder and wife, Jacob Biderly, wife and two daughters, Jacob Benedig, Jacob Mohler and wife, sisters Schwartz, Judid(?), Becker and Liechtis (Lichty), of the Ephrataites.

In 1743 were added Martin Wetzel, Moritz Muhlhaüss and wife, Christoph Geiss, Jacob Conrad and wife, Abraham Wendel and wife, Jacob Mayer, Jacob

Lichty, Jacob Sontag,[1] Jeremias Wolf and wife, Jacob Lascher, wife and daughter, Matthew Sedler, and sisters Fräna (a widow), Baer, Lehn (wife of Henry Benedict), Wolf, Huber (wife of Hannes), Kalckglässer.

In 1744, May 16, were added Anton Miller and wife, Jacob Mohler's wife, and ——— Benedict. Michael Pfautz was made or elected as a *diener* (minister). He became the second elder, succeeding Elder Frantz.

In 1745 were added Jacob Dielman's wife, Ernst Stoll's daughter, Maria Landis, Catharina Schwartz, and six brethren and six sisters came from Amwell, N. J., and joined the congregation.

In 1746, March 23, were added Henry Küfer's wife, Maria Koch, Catharine Koch, Maria Frantz, Jacob Spänhauer, and wife, Catherine Lehman, Sister Christin's servant-girl, Sister Neuschwanger, George Beashor, Sister Benedict, and a Brother Martinisz and wife from the Skippack.

In 1747 were added Peter Zug, Joseph Krebiel and wife, Anna Baer, Hannes Flory and wife, Henry Ent and wife, who were Ephrataites, Joseph Flory's wife, Hannes Märckel and wife (who were Ephrataites), Sister Wäglis (who was an Ephrataite), Jacob Diel and wife, Hannes Landis, Henry Mohler, Christoph Westenberger and wife, and a Sister Beashor (Böshor).

In 1748, Michael Frantz, the elder, died. On the 25th of September, he ordained as his successor Michael Pfautz.

In 1748 the church was wonderfully blessed. Eight times the congregation stood at the baptismal stream

(1) His biography follows. He was the third elected and ordained elder of the Conestoga church.

and sang the triumph of redeeming love as fifty-three precious souls were buried with Christ in holy baptism March 6, Ulrich Schiebly and wife, Henry Giebel (who lived seventy-two years) and wife, Christina, Hans Wendel Renner, Hans Leonhardt Renner and Maria Renner.

April 24, Adam Dick and his wife, Odilga, Mannüs Bruch, Michael Frantz (evidently a son of the elder), Hannes Frantz, Henry Neff and wife, Jacob Stoll (who later became a noted leader in Conestoga), Anna Schaffner, Elizabeth Häfelfinger, and Anna Häfelfinger.

May 1, Jacob Flory and Maria Conrad.

June 12, Jacob Schart, Andreas Rothrock, Abraham Lasche, Hannes Lasche, Anna Landis, Elizabeth Landis, Magdalen Zug, Sophia Höcker, Catharine Frantz, Anna Gut, and an aged Sister Lasche.

August 7, Hannes Stump and wife, Elizabeth, Frederick Mayer (who was massacred by the Indians), Magdalen Scharf, Magdalen, Weiland and Catharine Becker.

August 14, George Adam Frantz, Margaret Stump, Anna Longenecker, and Catharine Lietold. These four were baptized by George Adam Martin. At this time Jacob Sontag was elected as *diener* (minister) in the congregation.

September 4, Anna Jouner and Fröniga Häfelfinger.

October 16, Valentine Lang, Simon Stucky, Barbara Küster, and Sister Maritis Benedict.

October 23, Henry Sunderburg, Hannes Liedy and wife, Ottolia Wäglys and Catherine Sütler and Anna Wäglys (Vogel[?]).

In 1849, July 30, were added Andrew Birschinger, Philip Römer, and Daniel Bolinger.

August 6, Hannes Zug, Jonas Jonner, and Jacob Alewein.

August 21, Margaret Alewein and Barbara Eby.

In 1750, April 15, were added Henry Duma, Esther Nägele, Fröniga Straunan, Magdalena Bolinger, Fröniga Graff, Barbara Lichty, Catharine Wäglis, and Jacob Lichty (who had been a follower of Beissel and who was at this time received into the communion of the church without rebaptism). Since trine immersion was practiced at Ephrata by Beissel it is more than probable that all the socalled Ephrataites were not rebaptized upon entering the communion of the Brethren.[1]

June 17, Jacob Weiss, Barbara Meyer and Barbara Fägt.

July 18, Hannes Liedy.

August 12, Jacob Dester.

October 28, Barbara Zäller.

November 11, Jacob Häller.

In 1751, June 12, were added Henry Mohler ("the little one").

July 28, Michael Grausz.

December 8, Jacob Spickler and wife, Maria, Barbara Lieg, Christian, and the wife of the above-named Henry Mohler.

In 1752, March 29, Cuntze-Schmitte and wife, Margaret Geib, and Daniel Seiler, great-grandfather of the well-known Elder Daniel P. Saylor, of Beaver Dam, Maryland.

---

(1) See *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 52.

May 3, Jacob Wolf, Peter Eichenberg, David Märckly and wife, and Barbara Märckly.

June 28, Eberhart Büchly, Michael Zug, Maria Büchly, Eva Grau.

September 24, Maria Wider and Joanna Seiler, wife of the before-named Daniel Seiler.

October 2, "has begun the new time and have further been baptized in the new time,"[1] Peter Klein, Barbara Weiss, and a Sister Wolf (who had been an Ephrataite) was received without rebaptism.

In 1753, May 20, was added George Miller.

June 11, Hannes Bergelbach and wife, Rudy Fund, and Margaret Geib the younger.

August 12, Catharine Hartmann.

August 26, Christian Stauffer and wife, George Eder and wife, Joanna Fäit and a sister named Elizabeth.

In 1754, April 14, were added Peter Wampler, Henry Eler and wife, Christian Longenecker,[2] Hannes Lehman, Jacob Hörnly, Hannes Ackerman, Barbara Flory and Barbara Wampler who "was killed under a tree."

October 20, Hannes Graff.

In 1755, July 16, were added Henry Elder, old sisters Wampler and Ackerman. On August 3 Brother Peter Bäbel "was killed under a wagon."

September 7, Johannes Frick, Christian Frantz, Leonhart Seabold and wife, Elizabeth Bäsher.

September 21, Margaret Beam, Margaret Landis, Michael Häll, Johannis Bock, Magdalena Böyer, Susanna Bauman, and a Sister Mosser.

---

(1) Reference is here made to the dropping of eleven days from September in this year.

(2) He became elder in 1769

From the above date to 1763 no record is made. The elder, Michael Pfautz, was in great "tribulation." The congregation did not flourish. However, in 1763, the spirit of God again moved in the congregation and Elder Pfautz once more records the conversion of souls to God. In this year there were added: Wendel Maing and wife, Gertrude, Hannes Badher and wife, Jacob Zug and wife, Mary Eliza, Abraham Frantz and wife, Sister Hamacher and her daughters, Maria and Eva, Anna Longenecker, wife of Peter, Brother —— Bahlsboch (Balsbaugh) and his wife, Michael Häll, Hannes Böck, Madeline Baer, Susanna Bauman and a Sister Mösser.

In 1764 were baptized Philip Schnell (Snell) and Hannis Longenecker, Jr., (on October 28).

In 1765, August 11, were added Abraham Rudy, Sister Bossert's daughter, and Barbara Miller.

October 31, Maria Eby.

In 1766, August 24, were added Brother Gingel, Jacob Miller, Heinrich Steiner and wife, George Hennerich and wife, and Peter Börsch and wife.

September 7, Hannis Hackman and Jonas Schliesser.

October 12, Peter Royer and wife.

October 26, Jacob Zent and his wife, Margaret.

In 1767, August 16, were added Jacob Landis and his wife, Susan, and Jacob Häller (who died at the age of fifty-nine).

September 13, Christopher Royer and wife, Hannis Meyer, Andreas Eby and Barbara Eby, the younger.

October 11, Jeremias Wolf, Jr., Martin Meyer, Daniel Roger, Christian Haasz (who, the record states, "killed himself"), Barbara Keller and Catharine Royer.

In 1768, May 15, were added Jacob Hirschy and wife, Jacob Miller's wife, Jeremias Wolf's wife, and Andreas Eby's wife.

June 26, Henry Longenecker and his wife Christina.

In 1769 Christian Longenecker was ordained elder and, May 14, Elder Pfautz died. Brother Longenecker was elected to the ministry December 1, 1764. In this year were added to the church Philip Schumacher, Isaac Eshelman and Christian Zug.

In 1770, June 3, were added Elizabeth Eby and Anna Longenecker.

In 1774, June 12, were added Philip Gārber and his wife, Maria, Christian Kaber and wife, Christina Haber and Elizabeth Huber.

July 24, Martin Hauck and Veronica Gieb.

In 1776, April 9, were added Hannis Fretz, Hannis Hirschy, Hannis Eby and Catharine Hirschy.

May 17, Magdalena Fretz, Elizabeth Eshelman and Susanna Longenecker.

In 1777, September 24, were added Johannes Gibbel, Henry Gibbel, Michael Huber and wife Elizabeth, Elizabeth Gibbel, Elizabeth Gibbel the younger, Regina Eby and Barbara Huber.

November 1, Jacob Gibbel and wife, Elizabeth. Christian Royer and wife, Anna.

In 1779, November 7, were added Christian Krebi and wife, Elizabeth.

In 1780, June 11, was added Anna Groff.

August 3, Jacob Scheidler.

November 8, Susanna Diel and Maria Merky.

In 1781, March 18, was added Abraham Becker.

May 26, Susanna Scheidler and Susanna Becker.

September 23, Margareta Schold, Elizabeth Flory.

October 19, Veronica Reiser.

November 4, Catharine Reiser.

In 1782, October 20, were added Christian Diel and Peter Meyer.

In 1783, June 13, was added George Stohler, Jr.

October 4, Christian Martin, Hannes Baeker, Jacob Eshelman and wife, and Hannis Frautz's daughter.

In 1784, October 24, was added John Kochenderfer.

In 1787, August 21, was added Barbara Kinsy.

In 1789, May 13, was added Elizabeth Herr.

In 1790, May 3, was added Daniel Hollinger.

In 1791, August 21, were added John Eby and his wife, Esther.

October 23, Peter Hamacher.

In 1793, May 12, were added Hannis Groff and his wife, Elizabeth.

In 1795 was added Barbara Hollinger.

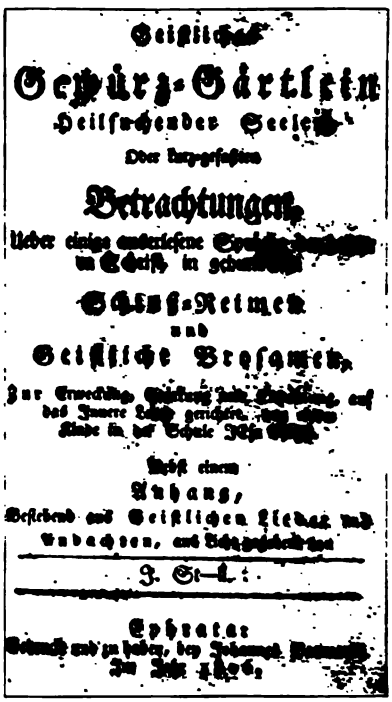
In 1796 was added Christian Herr.

In 1797, September 14, were added Daniel Schumacher and his wife, Magdalena.

In 1799, May 13, were added Joseph Hirsch and his wife, —— Krebiel and wife, and Elizabeth Ely. These five were baptized by Jacob Donner, the poet preacher. Later in the year were added David Eshelman and his wife, Barbara.

This completes the record to the end of the century. In all four hundred and sixty-three members were

added to this church. These members removed south and west, spreading the Gospel and giving membership to many of the early frontier churches. Thou-


Geistliches
Gebürz-Gärtlein
Heilsuchender Seelen
Betrachtungen
Schluß-Reimen
und
Geistliche Brosamen
Ephrata

Title Page of Jacob Stoll's Book.

sands who now belong to the Lord's family will find here the date of the religious birth of pious ancestors The record also is inspiring to the church student: showing, as it does, the wonderful growth of the

Lord's cause in the early days. Elders Frantz, Pfautz, Sontag, Longenecker and Stoll, may your memorable work for the church never be forgotten!

In 1770 about fifty-three families were connected with the Conestoga church, of whom the following eighty-six were in full communion:[1]

Elder Jacob Sontag and wife, John Landis, minister, and wife, John Rosh and wife, Peter Eichelberger and wife, Michael Frantz and wife, Henry Mohler and wife, Peter Royer and wife, Tobias Miller and wife, Christopher Becker and wife, Elizabeth Lessley, Catherine Harlacher, Ann Mohler, Magdalene Millenaer, Daniel Bollinger and wife, Daniel Royer and wife, John Royer and wife, Martin Meyer and wife, Jeremiah Woolf and wife, George Schwarts and wife, Jacob Landis and wife, David Landis, Christopher Westenberger and wife, Jacob Sponhauer and wife, Christopher Widder and wife, Jacob Knodel and wife, Salome Harlacher, Barbara Frantz, Catherine Royer, Margaret Landis, Barbara Steiner, Barbara Schob, Henry Schneider and wife, Daniel Hollinger and wife, Christopher Royer and wife, John Meyer and wife, Samuel Good and wife, Eva Sychrift, Jeremiah Woolf, jun. and wife, Jonas Jones and wife, Jacob Heller and wife, Mrs. Histant, Mrs. Moser, Mrs. Behr, Christian Haasz and wife, Jacob Harnly and wife, Magdalene Landis, Mary Frantz, Magdalene Bollenger, Mary Koch, Barbara Koch, Henry Schneider, jun. and wife, Susannah Landis, Catherine Landis.

---

(1) List taken from Morgan Edwards' *Materials Towards a History of the American Baptists*, p. 80.

White Oak Congregation.

About 1729 George Reyer [Royer], John Longenecker and others came from Germany and settled near the present town of Lititz in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania. As early as 1736, there were a goodly number of members, who united to hold the communion services and to organize a congregation. Elder Michael Frantz was their first minister. He lived in the Cocalico church. He was succeeded by Elder Michael Pfautz and he, in turn, by Elder Christian Longenecker, who was succeeded by Elder John Zug. From the diary of Elder Christopher Sower I learn that a meeting was held by him and Elder Martin Urner on August 16, 1780, in the White Oak congregation and that "Brother John Zug was ordained to be elder, to be under Elder Christel [Christian] Longenecker. But if Brother Longenecker dies, gets sick, takes a journey, or moves away, then shall Brother Zug perform all the duties of an elder. Except under these conditions, however, nothing of importance is to be undertaken without Brother Longenecker's counsel." There was a meeting held at the same place with a large attendance.

This congregation, in 1770, had in all sixty-five baptized and active members:

Elder Christian Longanacre [Longanecker] and wife, John Zug and wife, John Pfautz and wife, Henry Kuensing, Jacob Kuensing and wife, Christian Kra-

biel and wife, Jacob Zug and wife, Widow Huber, Catherine Bitner, Elizabeth Reir[Royer], Abraham Flohry and wife, Conrad Gingle, George Mohler and wife, Elizabeth Huft, Martin Schuh and wife, Jacob Hershy and wife, Andrew Eby and wife, Henry Giebel and wife, Barbara Eby and four daughters, Henry Eter and wife, Elizabeth Langanacre and wife, Ulrich Langanacre, John Häckman and wife, Henry Stohler and wife, John Lautermilch and wife, George Kleine and wife, Catherine Gish, John Frantz and wife, Ann Huber, Fronica ——, Catherine Royer, Salome Borghart, Mrs. Kratzer, Conrad Hausser and wife, and George Stohler and wife.

Great Swatara Congregation.

Great Swatara or East Conewago congregation dates from 1752, when George Miller was baptized by Elder Michael Pfautz. His wife soon after became a member. The church increased, especially by removals from White Oak, and in the year 1756, the congregation was formally organized with Elder Pfautz in charge. At his death in 1769, George Miller was placed in charge, but was not ordained until August 15, 1780, by Elders Sower and Urner. Adam Hammaker was also a minister in this congregation. In 1770, there were thirty-nine members:

George Miller, minister, and wife and daughter, Adam Hammaker, minister, and wife and daughter, Peter Ertzstone and wife, Philip Roemer and wife, John Buck and wife, John Eter and wife, Jacob Metzgar and wife, Henry Thomas and wife, Christopher Brauser

and wife, Margaret Thomas, Philip Reicker and wife. Peter Bersh and wife, Henry Stohner and wife, Wendel Merich and wife, Frederick Hess and wife, Jacob Eter and wife, George Balshbach and wife, George Henry and wife, Barbara Henry, Freny Cass.

Little Swatara Congregation.

In 1745 George Besher, Michael Frantz, Peter Heckman, John Frantz and others settled in this district. They were baptized by Elder George Kline of the Northkill congregation. Elder Kline was the first elder, assisted by Peter Heckman, who was ordained soon after 1770. On August 12, 1780, the above named Michael Frantz was ordained elder by Elders Sower and Urner, and George Beasher [Bāszhaar] and Jacob Moyer were ordained deacons. As early as 1770, there were forty-five active communicants Their names follow:

Peter Heckman, minister, and wife, John Heckman and wife, Michael Frantz and wife, Nicholas Gerst and wife, Jacob Moyer and wife, George Beasher, David Marge and wife, Simon Merrich and wife, John Frantz and wife, Christian Frantz and wife, Rose Schnables, Jacob Smith and wife, Eliza Kentzel, Adam Henrich, Mrs. Cryder, Philip Zeigler and wife, Jacob Breneisen and wife, David Kleine and wife, Widow Benedict, Elizabeth Benedict, Sophy Kish, Leonard Sebalt and wife, John Grove, Jacob Baker and wife, Jacob Deal and wife, Hans Stohner and wife, Jacob Beashör and wife.

Northkill Congregation.

As early as 1748 there was an organized congregation in Tulpehocken and Bern townships in Berks county. Elder Michael Frantz was their first elder and the first members were John Stump and his sister, Frederick Moyer and wife, and a few others whose names are not known. In 1750, Elder George Kleine was placed in charge. The congregation did not flourish, owing to frequent removals of the members. The cause of these removals may be found in the fact that the Tulpehocken country was at this time a hotbed of sectarianism and also an exposed frontier. In 1770, there were eleven members:

Elder George Kleine and wife, Valentine Lang, Elizabeth Reiler, Elizabeth Stump, Sarah Solenberger, John Stoner and wife, Mary Stoner, Susanna Mackley, Elizabeth Brandel.

Codorus Congregation.

The movement of emigration in the Brethren church before the Revolutionary War was southward along the Piedmont Plateau. The members were agriculturalists and naturally sought out and possessed the fertile limestone valleys of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia and the Carolinas. In 1758, Elder Jacob Tanner [Donner] organized a church in York county about eleven miles from York. Among the first members were Rudy Yount, Peter Brillhart, John Brillhart, and others. Elder Jacob Donner was a

noted poet and song writer among the early Brethren. He removed from the Codorus to the Monocacy church where he labored long and well in the Master's cause.

When Elder Donner removed to Monocacy he was succeeded in the Codorus ministry by Henry Neff, who was ordained soon after 1770. In this last named year the Codorus congregation had thirty-five members:

Henry Neff, minister, and wife, Jacob Tilman and wife and daughter, Jacob Spitler and wife and two daughters, Peter Brillhart and wife, Jacob Neiswanger and wife, Ann Neiswanger, Catherine Beightley, Elizabeth Leip, George Beary and wife, John Harold and wife, Rudy Yunt and wife, William Spitler and wife, Christian Eby and wife, Wendel Baker and wife, Michael Berkey and wife, George Ettor and son, Mathias Sitler and wife, Susanna Weltner.

Elder Jacob Donner was a frequent visitor to all the churches in Eastern Pennsylvania. When he removed to Maryland he became associated with Elder Daniel Letterman. He lived in Frederick county at a place called "Linginohr." From which place he addressed a letter to Elder Mack in 1789, which gives an insight into his spiritual character and also

mentions a number of members whose children's children will read this with pleasure:[1]

> Linginohr in Frederick County, March 11th, in the year of our Lord, Savior and Redeemer, Jesus Christ, Son of God who remains the comfort of all believers, 1789.

Heartily beloved and esteemed Brother Alexander Mack:—

I greet and kiss thee in the spirit from brotherly love, as well as thy wife and thy daughters and sons-in-law. I also greet heartily all brethren and sisters and their children in all Germantown and in thy household. I greet especially your teachers and elders, as many as are known to me of them. Brother Peter Leibert, Brother Peter Keiser, Brother Daniel Weber, Brother Längstrath, and whoever else among you that may have been chosen for this service. God grant to you, my heartily beloved brethren, that by His Grace you may remain faithful in His service to which the Lord has called you as watchmen and fellow-workers in the vineyard of the Lord to pasture His flock as sheep of Jesus Christ, your Arch Shepherd, Master and Bishop, Jesus Christ.

Also you are not to despise the old men, much less find fault with them, but to honor and exhort them as the fathers; the old women as the mothers; the young men as the brothers; the young women as the sisters with all modesty; the youths and maidens as the dear children; and in this service each of you will win for himself a good standing for the day of judgment (of the return of the Lord Jesus Christ).

I hope, my dear brethren, that, although you know

(1) Original letter in my possession.

it, you will not mind if I remind you of your reward in heaven, that is when you work for your own salvation and for that of your hearers; also you, my beloved brethren and sisters and brothers' children, you are not forgotten by me, although I know you as yet but little, still I was much pleased with your zeal in good works and I should like to wish for myself to be often in your company, if it could have been brought about, but since that cannot be I stand in a most hearty state of well-wishing towards you and wish that you all as faithful lambs allow yourselves to be led and ruled by your Good Shepherd; and by his Holy Spirit be led and conducted into all truth. Then you will be willing to obey your teachers and follow them faithfully as those who watch over your souls and have to account for them that they may do it with joy and not with sighs, else it would not be good with you.

But my dear ones, you will rather from love of God pray for them heartily as well as for me and all holy ones, so that the Lord may cause to be known the secret of His truth and the door of His word in His blessed Evangel to all His servants and witnesses of His truth, so that we might at all times be comforted by the possession of a good conscience and might apply ourselves to lead an upright life with all. But to write all this to you, my dear ones, might be superfluous, therefore I shall express myself briefly.

But my heartily beloved brother, Sander Mack, I should like to tell thee that I often lovingly remember thee and the members of thy congregation since the time that I spent with you and have wished that it might please God to give thee health, for when we

were with thee thou wast not well, which I regretted much; but I hope, my dear brother, that my letter will find thee in good health, which would make me very glad. You also may know that I and the brethren in this neighborhood are all well yet, and will be as long as the Lord grants it, but how long that may be is known to the Lord. What concerns the young folks, many of them have the "Porpellen," also many grown people allow themselves to be "vaccinted,' but none of the brethren, who commend their children to God their Maker who has given them, and who turns all to the best of themselves or of their children's welfare.

Heartily beloved brother, day before yesterday I heard of the dear Brother Daniel Lettermann, that he is still unwell, after I saw you I have been to visit him and found him ailing, yet his illness was mostly a weakness of body, he could not endure any cold, and as I have heard he is yet in the same condition. All of his family however are well. I told him also of you, and gave him your hearty greetings, and also Peter Leibert's, when we took last farewell at thy house, although most of the brethren had charged me to greet from them all. Now my dear brother, I think of concluding; I hope thou wilt bear in patience with my imperfection. Should it please God that we could meet again in this life I should be very glad but the will of the Lord be done.

I wish by the Grace of God the love of Christ to enter my heart to keep you in my remembrance before God. In the same manner I wish you to remember me. The good God alone can make us fit for this, to the same I commend you all heartily.

Heartily greet for me the dear Brother Justus Fox and his dear wife, the sister, as well as all who are dear to you and whose names are not all known to me. also greet heartily your brother-in-law and his dear wife, the sister, your sister-in-law, who was ill at that time. I hope the Lord has shown her His mercy as well as to us all and also to your unworthy friend and brother who greets you together with his wife.

JACOB DONNER.
ELIZABETH DONNERIN.

To the dear brother Alexander Mack on
Chestnut Hill [Tschesnet Hüll], near
by the town of Germantown.

Little Conewago Congregation.

In 1738, in the township of Hanover, in York county, Elder Daniel Leatherman organized this congregation. Among the constituent members were fam-

ilies of the name Eldrick, Dierdorff, Bigler, Gripe, Stutsman, and others. Elder Leatherman removed to Monocacy early in 1757, and Elder Nicholas Martin was given the oversight of the church. He removed to Conococheague and Jacob Moyer was placed in charge as minister, with James Hetrick as assistant.

In 1770, the congregation embraced forty families, with fifty-two members in communion:

Jacob Moyer minister and wife [illegible] minister and wife Hans [illegible] bara Sneider George [illegible] iel Woods and wife [illegible] Moyer and wife [illegible] Housteter [illegible] wife Jacob [illegible] Mrs. Bowser [illegible] daughter Maud Bowser [illegible] [Donner] and wife [illegible] Moyer and wife [illegible] and wife [illegible] Weaver [illegible] Bearing and [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] established [illegible] Adam [illegible] the [illegible] Beisse [illegible] were John [illegible] Peter [illegible]

When [illegible] the [illegible] placed in charge [illegible] Nicholas [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Their names [illegible]

George Brown, minister, and wife, Peter Werds, John Heimer and wife, Peter Fox and wife, Anthony Dierdorff and wife, John Dierdorff and wife, Nicholas Moyer and wife, Manass Bruch and wife, Michael Basserman and wife, David Erhard and wife, Ann Mummard, Daniel Baker and wife, Abraham Stauffer and wife, Henry Dierdorff and wife, John Burckholter and wife, Christian Frey, Andrew Trimmer and wife. Ustace Reinsel and wife, Samuel Arnold, Peter Dierdorff and wife, Barnet Achenbach and wife, Mary Latzcho, Catherine Studebaker, John Neagley and wife, Michael Brissel and wife, Velten Brissel and wife, Mathias Bouser and wife and daughter, Laurence Bakener and wife, Nicholas Bakener, Philip Snell and wife, Nicholas Bakener, jun. and wife, Adam Sower and wife and two daughters, Adam Dick and wife, Marilis Baker, Henry Brissel and wife, David Brissel and wife, Sarah Brissel, Henry Randibush and wife, George Waggoner and wife, Jacob Miller, Mrs. Martsh, Rudolph Brown, George Reeson and wife.

Bermudian Congregation.

The growth of the Brethren in York county is phenomenal. The Bermudian church at the first was under the control of Conrad Beissel. They organized in 1758, under Conrad Beissel. Among the first members were Philip Gebel, Peter Beissel, Henry Lohman, and others. After Beissel became too infirm to visit this church Peter Miller and George Adam Martin preached here. The former came from Ephrata. The latter resided here. In 1762 he became a fol-

lower of Beissel and almost immediately removed to Stony Creek in what was then Bedford county. Henry Lohman was then chosen minister, and was as yet not ordained in 1770, when the membership was representative of forty families and comprised fifty-eight members, whose names are herewith given:

Henry Lohman, minister, and wife, Frederick Reuter, wife and daughter, Daniel Fahnestick and wife, Paul Traub and wife, Sebastian Sholles and wife, John Cook, wife and son, Peter Bender and wife, Melchior Webber and wife, John Bence and wife and daughter and four sons, —— Frick, John Lehn and wife, John Messerbach and wife, John Miller and wife and two sons, George Reiss, George Neiss and wife, Benjamin Gebel and wife, Philip Gebel, Peter Beussel and wife and son and daughter, Philip Beussel and wife, Belzar Smith and wife, Adam Weyley and wife, Mrs. Dorothy, —— Stauffer, Elizabeth Foltz.

Stony Creek Congregation.

The first movement of Brethren across the Allegheny Mountains in Pennsylvania was to *Bruederthal*, Brother's Valley, in what is now Somerset county, Pennsylvania. About 1762 this congregation began under George Adam Martin. He was, at this time, a Seventh Day Baptist, and the congregation at the beginning, held to the same doctrine. They soon, however, returned to the practice and faith of the Brethren church. The number of members, in 1770, was seventeen, Elder George Adam Martin and wife,

Henry Roth and wife and daughter, Henry Roth, Jr. and wife, George Newmoyer, Philip Aswald and wife and daughter, Abraham Gebel and wife, Philip Kimmel and wife, —— Wildebarger and wife.

George Adam Martin had a curious history. He was converted and joined the church at Coventry. He was born near Lundsthal in Germany, in 1715, came to America at an early day. He was a member of the Reformed congregation under Peter Miller in the Tulpehocken country. He was baptized in 1735,[1] and was ordained by Elder Peter Becker in 1739. He lived first in the Coventry church, later in the Conestoga church. Thence he removed to Little Conewago. He served the Conewago congregation. In this district he had some misunderstanding with the Brethren and removed to the Antietam congregation, then almost wholly in Maryland. Here, in 1762, he adopted the Seventh Day view and preached to the Bermudian church. The same year he removed to Stony Creek. He married one of the Knippers [Kneppers] and was the father of many children.

He has left a long account of his activity in the church, and gives a reason for his change of faith. It was he that suggested to Martin Urner the 18th of Matthew at the baptismal service, and it was he that attended the Zinzendorf Synod at Oley, and, returning, suggested to Elder Urner the holding of the first Annual Meeting in 1742.

(1) Morgan Edwards says in 1737.

He objected to the Brethren because they argued at the subsequent Annual Meetings for the order and practice established at Schwarzenau. At these meetings he had heated controversies with elders Abraham DuBoy and Michael Frantz. He also took offense because "at the very commencement they [the Taufers or Brethren] adopted needless restrictions, in that they did did not allow any one who was not baptized to partake of the Holy Sacrament." He was, as this shows, a warm disciple of Hochmann rather than a follower of Mack. He was also sorely offended at Elder Mack's answer to Gruber's twenty-second question,[1] and in general was inclined to set his own judgment above all others. He did not kindly receive admonition, because, as he declares, "everybody who knew me considered me a great doctor of Holy Writ."

The result was a separation, and with him about sixty souls formed a new congregation. This was done at Conewago and the Bermudian church was the result. Elder Martin was now disowned. He was at a loss to find fellowship. Then he undertook a journey to Ephrata, and in 1762 he became a disciple of Beissel. John Horn was his associate in this visit and, with him, joined the Ephrata Society. Some Brethren, notably John Steiner, Peter and Abraham Knipper, Frederick Fuhrman, one Finck, George Scheitler and Peter Zug were opposed to his excommunication and were anxious to reinstate him. His acceptance of the

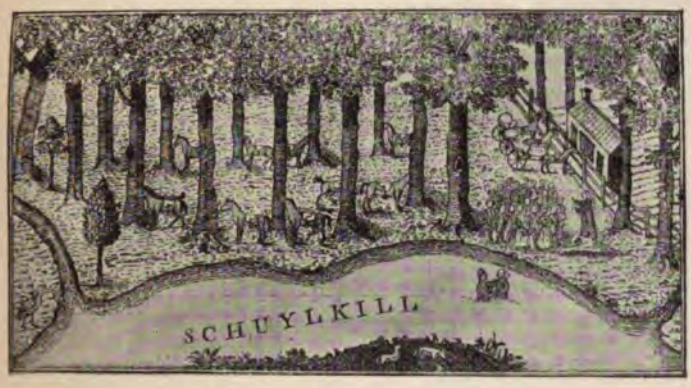
(1) See Rites and Ordinances, p. 82.

Ephrata doctrine caused these brethren to drop the matter. Beissel himself sent Rudolph Naegle and Jacob Gass to the Bermuda church in 1762 and ordered the members there to receive Martin as their elder. The preaching of Martin drew large audiences and he might have won many of his former members at Conewago to his new church, but Brother John Mack, son of Elder Alexander Mack, the founder, and a Brother Staub went among the members and explained to them the dangers and errors of the new movement. This blocked the work of George Adam Martin and he then removed to Stony Creek, where he ended his days. He was not rebaptized at Ephrata, and did not fully endorse the peculiar practices there. He was a Taufer at heart and a lover of God's ordinances, but he was a rash, impulsive, impatient man. He possessed an unusual mind, well trained in German and in Latin, was a logical reasoner, a profound speaker, and a ready writer. He is the author of the *Christliche Bibliothek*, a volume of 152 octavo pages, which displays his literary as well as his intellectual power.

This is the complete list of active members in Pennsylvania in 1770 as given by Rev. Morgan Edwards. I have here enumerated the fourteen congregations and the 528 members in that year. There were at the same time 135 members at Ephrata. There were also a number of members about Antietam and the Conococheague living in Pennsylvania but worshiping in

Maryland, and their names Edwards does not give. His volume on Maryland was never published. Inquiry at the Maryland Historical Society and of a number of learned historians in Maryland failed to aid me. In a succeeding chapter some fragmentary facts will be enumerated.

The growth from 1724 to 1770 was good. The church prospered. Her elders were noble men. They



Baptism Scene from an Old Print (1770).

wrought wisely and well. It was no small matter to travel long distances in a wilderness, preach in private houses, organize new congregations, and at the same time maintain a growing family in a new country. Add to this the fact that the Brethren were all Germans, that their message was only to Germans, that the population was dominantly English and their success is wonderful. Surely the Lord was with them.

Reference has already been made to the fact that Elder John Naas founded the first church in New Jersey. The only account of the work in New Jersey is found in Vol. II of Morgan Edwards, and it is here

MATERIALS

TOWARDS

A History of the Baptists in Jersey

DISTINGUISHED INTO

FIRSTDAY BAPTISTS,
SEVENTHDAY BAPTISTS,
TUNCKER BAPTISTS,
ROGERENE BAPTISTS.

VOLUME II.

BY MORGAN EDWARDS, A. M.,
And Quondam Fellow of R. I. College

Lo! a people that dwell alone: and shall not be reckoned among the nations.—*Exod.*

PHILADELPHIA:
Printed by THOMAS DOBSON,
At the Stone-house in Second-Street,
MDCCXCII.

given in full. The work is now exceedingly rare. A copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and the copy possessed by the writer are the only ones now known to be accessible. The accompanying cut is the

frontispiece of the volume published in 1770 on Pennsylvania Baptists.

Part III.—Treats of the Tunker Baptists.

The word *Tunker* in German, and the word *Baptists* in Greek, and the word *Dipper* in English, are exactly of the same signification. The Germans sound the let- "T" soft like "D": hence these Baptists are called Dunkers. Had Dr. Douglas attended to this, he would not say that they should be called *Dunkards*. The first appearance of these people in America, was in the fall of 1719, when twenty families arrived in Philadelphia. In 1722 about ten families more arrived. In 1729 other thirty families arrived at the same place; which was the last division of the Tunker church which originated with eight souls, at Schwartdzenau in Germany, 1708. (See my account of them in Vol. I, p. 64; or in Morse, under the word *Tunker*, where the same account is transcribed.) Among the last division were Rev. *John Naas*,(1) *Anthony Deerdorf*, *Jacob More*, *Rudolph Harley* and *John-Peter Laushe:* these five persons, and their families, crossed the Delaware, in 1733, and settled at Amwell, in *Hunterdon* County, about 38 miles northeast from Philadelphia. The present number of families is twenty-eight; whereof forty-six persons are baptized and in the communion, here administered at no set time; but as often as a brother finds himself disposed to give the feast of charity; then the church is invited to meet at his house (for they have no meetinghouse): and when washing feet is over, and the right hand of fellowship, and kiss of charity given,

(1) This is not correct, Elder Naas did not come to America until 1733.

the Lord's Supper is administered, with the usual elements and singing of hymns.

REMARKABLES.

(1) It is the only Tunker church in Jersey, and the only church which statedly uses the eight Christian rites; in Pennsylvania there are fifteen Tunker churches; in Maryland seven; and in the more southern states ten. (2) Their church government was purely republican, as I observed in my first volume; but in Maryland (and I suppose in other states) they have a superintendent, whose name is Daniel Leatherman: to him is referred the decision of variances among the ministers, or between the ministers and people, and as the Tunkers call all their ordained ministers *bishops*, it follows that Leatherman holds the rank of *archbishop*. (3) The *Tunker* church in New Jersey hath existed for fifty-seven years, and hath increased from five to forty-six.

MINISTRY.

The first minister was Rev. John Naas: he was born in Germany, and emigrated hither with the last division of the church of Schwartdzenau. I am sorry I could not come at more of this good man's history (for these people keep no records), and all his contemporaries are dead. His successor was Rev. John Bechleshammer, who had one Gideon Rouser to his assistant. Some of Bechleshammer's children are alive; but for want of understanding their Dutch, and they my English, nothing could be done in a way of history. His successors in the ministry, but not in the episcopate, are, William Housel and Abraham Laushe: the first was born at Neuvitt, in Germany, in 1728; the other in 1732, at Creyfelt, in the Prussian dominion:

the first has a wife, but no issue; the other's wife is Margaret Bechleshammer, by whom he has children John, Henry, Jacob, Abraham, Ann and Margaret. The above is the present state of the *Tunker* church at Amwell, Feb. 2, 1790.

SYLLABUS.

Churches of the Tunker Baptists in New Jersey,	1
Members,	46
Families,	28
Souls (allowing five to a family),	140
Ministers, ordained,	0
Ministers, licentiate,	2

CHAPTER X. —The Two Christopher Sowers.

No names in Colonial America are more significant of high service and great enterprise than the names of the two Christopher Sowers of Germantown.

The Elder Sower.

To the first Christopher Sower belongs the honor of having transplanted German printing to America. He it was who first on this continent engaged in German book-printing. He it was who first called into life on this continent the German newspaper, and who, along with his son, conducted it for forty consecutive years.

If we consider the extraordinary development that the German book and newspaper trade has since attained in the United States, and the influence it has exerted upon the refinement, culture, and well-being of a large element in our population, we cannot refrain from casting grateful looks backward to the two men, who, nearly two centuries ago, were the means of introducing to us this great lever of civilization. The history of these men is enwrapped in the whole intellectual and religious life of the nation. No history of the forces that made America can ignore these sterling men. They lived in quiet. They wrought in peace. But their life and their work became an enduring and potential influence in moulding the life of

Laasphe, Germany, Home of Christopher Sower.

the country. They were broader than sect or party, and outlived their own generation. They live to-day in a thousand influences that enter into the complex social, educational, industrial, and religious life which we call American civilization.

Of the life of the first Sower[1] very little is known. He was born in 1693 in the village of Laasphe, a town of Wittgenstein (now in the district Arensburg), Westphalia.

Laasphe was in close proximity to Berleberg and to Schwarzenau, centers of extraordinary religious activity. The opening years of Sower's life were passed in the midst of remarkable religious movements. Protestation against the rigid, inflexible orthodoxy and unpopular policy of a worldly church had become manifest in Germany, Holland and other portions of Europe. Men of pious purpose denounced the state churches as so many Babels, and the ministers thereof as so many priests of Baal. These enthusiastic people were styled "Fanatics," "Enthusiasts," "Anabaptists," etc. Itinerant preachers, exhorting to repentance and announcing the near approach of the kingdom of Christ, were found in every conceivable place preaching to one or more people as occasion permitted. This they did at their own peril. Church and state formed unholy league to imprison, disperse, and destroy them. The red hand of blood was raised

(1) His name at the first was written Christoph Sauer; later Saur, and still later it was anglicised into Sower.

menacingly over them. They were messengers of God doomed to tortures and the crown of martyrdom.

There were a few places in the great German Empire where, because of fortuitous conditions, these persecuted people found rest and refuge. Among these were the petty principalities of Isenberg (including Büdingen and Marienborn) and Wittgenstein. In these free states these exiles were welcomed and protected.

The ruler of the petty sovereignty where Christopher Sower saw the light of day was Count Casimir, born in 1687. He began to administer the government in 1712. During his minority his pious mother, Countess Helwig Sophia reigned. She was a warm friend of Hochmann and a protector of all the "awakened" ones, including Alexander Mack and his friends.

Count Casimir followed the example of his mother and awarded the fullest protection to the Brethren and to all other pious souls.

It was this atmosphere, fragrant with the prayers of pious, religious refugees that Sower breathed in his young days. To the Brethren he was especially attached. That he was baptized in Germany is not probable.

As a child he attended the little Reformed church near Laasphe and, no doubt, at first was a believer in their faith.

But he early withdrew and began to think for himself. Just what led him to the Brethren is not know-

Castle Wittgenstein, Home of Prince Henry, Protector of the Brethren.

But for them he early manifested a warm friendship. When he approached young manhood it is surmised by some that he learned the trade of a tailor. This statement has no warrant beyond the following:

"Saur is a very ingenious man. He is a separatist who has become dexterous in, at least, thirty (30) trades. For, having come over to America as a tailor, he has since become a printer, apothecary, surgeon, botanist, clock and watchmaker, cabinet maker, bookbinder, newspaper maker, manufacturer of his own tools, wire and lead drawer, paper maker,[1] etc., etc."

That this is not true is apparent when we remember that he was a doctor of medicine and a graduate of Marburg [2] University. He acquired his medical lore at Halle in the famous school of August Hermann Francke. In 1698, Francke established an institution known as "*Das Hallische Waisenhaus.*" For the support of this institution Francke compounded medicines, after recipes bequeathed to him by Burgstaller, a Pietist of Erfurt. Here and at Marburg Sower was educated. He was not, according to all the records of his descendants, a tailor. He is not known to have practiced this occupation either in Europe or in America.

One eminent authority[3] in Germany who crossed

(1) *Acta-Historica-Ecclesiastica*, Vol. XV, p. 213.

(2) Marburg was the first Protestant University. It was founded in 1527, by Philip the Magnanimous, Landgraf of Hesse.

(3) Friedrich Kapp, in a German treatise on "*The German-American Book Printing and Book Trade in the Former Century*," a copy of which rare work is in my library.

the Atlantic to study his theme in two continents says he "learned the spectacle manufacture in his native city." This opinion has some value and is founded, no doubt, upon evidence not accessible to the American compilers who would detract from the fair fame of a man who impressed the scholarly Kapp as "being a man who enjoyed a very good education and who wrote for his time very pure and flowing German."

Of his life in Germany little is known. He was married early in the 18th century and his wife, Maria Christina, gave birth on Sept. 26, 1721, to their only child, Christopher the Second, who later became a bishop or elder in the German Baptist Brethren church at Germantown.

In the autumn of 1724 the Sower family, father, mother and son, arrived at Germantown to begin a new home in a new land. At Germantown Sower met Peter Becker and others with whom he was acquainted in Germany. He was, however, anxious to establish a home in a prospectively fertile and populous section of country, and, in the spring of 1726, he removed to Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and settled at Muelbach, attracted there in part, perhaps, by Conrad Beissel, whom he had met in Germany. Here he purchased fifty (50) acres of land in Leacock Township and ostensibly began to farm. It is more than likely, however, that he here gained his livelihood as Kapp declares "as a hygeist and dealer in healing herbs."

Church near Laasphe, Germany, where the Sowers Worshiped.

Just what influence was exerted upon Sower by Beissel is not definitely known.

There is some evidence to show that he became a member of the Brethren church, although he is usually called a Separatist. Many writers in the *Messenger*, Almanacs, and other publications of the Brethren assert boldly and unqualifiedly that he was a member of the church. They are all mistaken, and have been led to this statement, no doubt, by confusing father and son, or through ignorance of the fact that there were *three* Sowers named Christopher, who were prominently identified with the activities of the early church.

The documentary reasons for believing that the elder Sower was a Dunker are the following:

1. Kapp says, "He emigrated with a number of Schwarzenau Dunkers, his companions in opinion."

2. Michael Eckerlin, who came to Pennsylvania with his mother and three younger brothers in 1725, moved to Lancaster county in August, 1727, and for a while adhered to the Mennonites. He liked their simplicity of dress, but "to their mode of worship," he declares, "I could never adapt myself." Then he turned to the new congregation of Dunkers, over which Conrad Beissel then acted as leader. This was before the division had occurred between the Brethren and the Beissel party at Ephrata. Here follow the words of Eckerlin: "After that I worked for Christopher Sower, who brought me to a meeting

of the new congregation, at which I was strengthened in my good resolve to such a degree, by the words of the Superintendent (Beissel), that on Whitsuntide of the year 1728, I was incorporated in this new congregation by holy baptism, *together with my master* and another brother, Jacob Gass, by name."[1]

3. Julius F. Sachse, who has just announced a new work on the Ephrata Society, told the writer, in a recent conversation, that Conrad Beissel had baptized the elder Sower.

4. In a letter, written by Sower at his home in Germantown, November 17, 1738, and published in "*Geistliche Fama*," No. 25, p. 85, Sower himself says, "Where shall I find words to praise the good God? I am greatly indebted to him. Be my life all consecrated to His service and the glorification of His name! In my weakness before this great blessing, this was my desire and longing, thus to spend the time of my existence and my whole life. Therefore I have even wished to set up a printing press in the land, which N. has bought for me and forwarded hither." He continues to explain why he was moved to this conclusion by relating that the Dunkers at a love feast prepared in his behalf sought to bind his heart to the purpose of becoming a book printer; giving as their reason that the growth and development of the church depended upon having a

[1] *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 41 2.

German printer who would aid the church by disseminating through books and magazines and other publications the literature of the church.

Here we have Sower's own statement that he was at a love feast of the Brethren. We have already seen that from the very beginning the church was censured for a rigid rule of close communion, a rule which it never abrogated. If, then, Sower participated in the love feast Sower was a member.

May we not pause to think of this love feast? German printing for America born at a love feast of the Brethren church! The holy men of God so impressed at this early day (1738) with the need of additional aid to evangelize America call the congregation to a holy communion, and in the spirit of the most sacred service of the church the petition is sent to God and the need is pressed upon Christopher Sower. He goes from this meeting of the church of the Brethren and lo! the German press in America begins its multifarious work!

5. When Christopher Sower erected his house in Germantown he constructed the second story with movable partitions in order that religious services might be held in it. What religious services? There were almost a score of religious bands, all of them Separatists, in the vicinity of Germantown. Did he open his home to all of these? By no means. His house was the Brethren meetinghouse from 1731 to

the time of his death in 1758. It was a place of worship for the Brethren and for them only.

6. He had one son, his heir and successor in business, whom he devotedly loved, carefully educated, and early entrusted with large business responsibilities. Between them there never was a shadow of difference. This son at the early age of sixteen joined a church. What church was he likely to join? His father evidently sanctioned and advised a choice. The young Sower joined the pious band that worshiped under his father's roof. He became a leading elder in the church of the German Baptist Brethren.

These six facts are submitted at length to answer the oft asked question, Was the first Sower a Dunker? The reader may draw his own conclusion.

In Lancaster county, Christopher Sower was saddened by the action of his wife. In the autumn of 1730, persuaded by the mystical Beissel that marriage tarnishes the clear crystal of the soul's purity, she left her husband and home and only child, received baptism at the hands of Beissel, and began a life of a solitary. "She lived alone in the wilderness for some time, proving that a man's spirit could dwell in a woman's form."[1] By "alone" in this statement one must understand that she lived away from her husband. She was accompanied in this move by the wife of Philip Hanselmann. Later, these women

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 56.

entered the sisters' house at Ephrata, and Mrs. Sower was made subprioress of the sisterhood, and was known as Sister Marcella. She was simply a victim of the religious unrest that swept the German settlement of Pennsylvania at this time. Her case is neither remarkable nor exceptional. It was, however, unfortunate. She remained at Ephrata until 1744, in which year her son was able to induce her to return to her home in Germantown. This she did "in the middle of November, 1744."(1) Here a complete reconciliation occurred between husband and wife, and on June 20, 1745, she "took upon herself the household duties of my father."(2) She lived and loved her family until, as her son says, "December 14, 1752, my dear mother has blessedly fallen asleep in heaven."(3)

In the meantime Christopher Sower began to turn longingly to Germantown. The action of his wife was, doubtless, a cause of his desiring to leave the Conestoga country. But why did he return to Germantown? In 1729, Alexander Mack, whom he had known and loved in Europe, came to Germantown. Sower was drawn to him and so in April, 1731, father and son removed to Germantown. He purchased six acres of ground(4) and began the erection of a large

(1) From her son's Diary, p. 2.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 2.

(3) *Ibid*, p. 4.

(4) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 473. This acreage was subsequently largely increased.

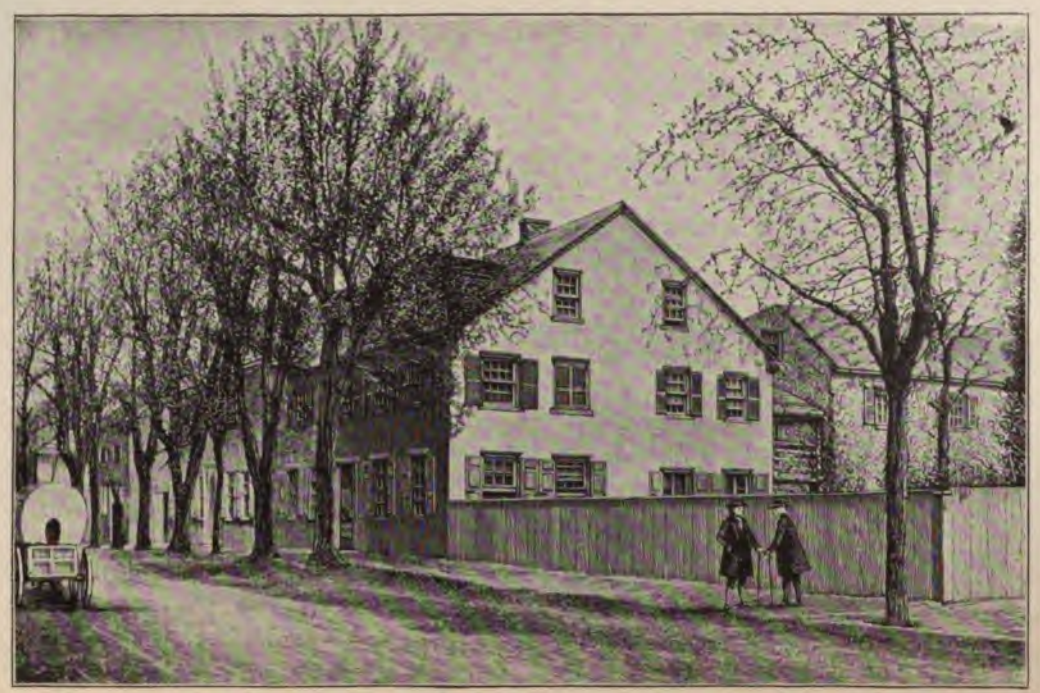
house, 60x60 feet, two stories and an attic. It was one of the most pretentious residences in Germantown; and stood at what is now 4645–4653 Germantown Avenue, adjoining the still standing and historic old Wistar Mansion.

Here he took up the "business learned in his youth, that of an optician."[1] To this he added the businesses of clock-maker and apothecary. His great-great-grandson, the distinguished Philadelphia publisher, Charles G. Sower, has in his house one of the old wall-clocks made by his honored ancestor. That he was engaged in the apothecary business is beyond question, as we shall see later on.

In 1738 he secured from Germany a printer's outfit. It consisted of a press and a small collection of type. The Brethren and others at Berleberg began as early as 1726 the publication of the now famous Berleberg Bible.[2] It was published in eight large volumes and was completed in 1742. The press work was done by a printer from Strassburg, John Jacob Haug. This press, says Abraham H. Cassel, was afterwards sent by the Brethren to America and became the property of Christopher Sower. This is in no way inconsistent with the facts in the case, for there is a record in Berleburg that states that friends in that city had purchased a large press upon which to complete the

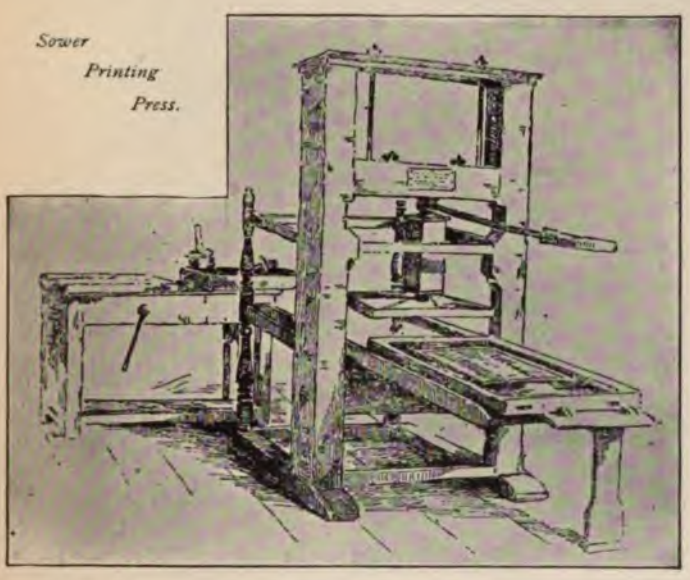
(1) Kapp's *German-American Book Printing and Book Trade.*

(2) Alexander Mack and other Brethren contributed liberally to the fund for the publication of this Bible.



Residence of Christopher Sower, First and Second. Erected 1731: on Premises now Nos. 4645 to 4653 Germantown Avenue. The Printing Establishment, Bindery, Etc., Occupied the Building in the Rear.

Bible, and that they had sold their brethren in opinion in Germantown the smaller press used by them up to this time.[1] If this is so the old Sower press is



Sower Printing Press.

historically significant and was really the property of the church until it was given to Sower for his publishing interests.

Upon it, also, the first volumes of the Berleburg Bible were printed. This Bible was much prized by the early Brethren, and those who could afford it brought copies to America or had them imported. The copy that belonged to Christopher Sower, still in

(1) Kapp's *German-American Book Printing and Book Trade.*

excellent preservation, is now in the library of Juniata College.[1] Sower was the agent for the sale of the Berleberg Bible in America.

And now, in 1738, began the most marvelous activity on the part of Christopher Sower. His press at once turned out an A B C and spelling book "to be used by all religions without reasonable hesitation."[2] In August of the same year appeared "The High-German American Calendar for the year 1739." This Almanac, the first German one, published in America, was issued annually by Sower, his son, and his grandson for forty-nine years. These almanacs were circulated from New York to Georgia. The Germans relied upon them implicity. It is related that a farmer, named Welker, from above Sunnytown, consulted his almanac, found it promised fair weather, loaded his wagon, and started for Philadelphia. On the way it began to rain. Welker was angry. He denounced the "weather book" and decided to stop at Sower's place in Germantown and give him a severe reprimand for publishing such lies.

Sower listened to his harangue and then meekly replied, "Friend, be not thus angry, for although I made the Almanac, the Lord Almighty made the weather."

In 1748, his Almanac was printed in two colors, red

(1) There is also a copy in the library of Mt. Morris College.

(2) This book is noted by Seidensticker in *The First Century of German Printing in America* as belonging to 1737 or '39. Kapp says 1738.

and black. These were very popular, especially because they were bound with interleaved blank pages upon which farmers could keep their accounts.[1] His

ZIONITISCHER
Weyrauchs-Hügel
Oder:
Myrrhen-Berg,
Worinnen allerley liebliches und wohl riechendes nach Apotheker-Kunst zubereitetes Rauch-Werck zu finden.
Bestehend
In allerley Liebes-Würckungen der in GOTT geheiligten Seelen, welche sich in vielen und mancherley geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern abgebildet.
Als darinnen
Der letzte Ruff zu dem Abendmahl des grossen GOttes auf unterschiedliche Weise trefflich ausgedrucket ist;
Zum Dienst
Der in dem Abend-Ländischen Welt-Theil, als bey dem Untergang der Sonnen erweckten Liebe GOttes, und zu ihrer Ermunterung auf die Mitternächtige Zukunft des Bräutigams ans Licht gegeben.
Germantown: Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur. 1739.

Title Page of First German Hymn Book.

almanacs contained many useful suggestions on the treatment of diseases and the use of medicinal herbs. Beginning in 1762 and continuing to 1778 the almanacs contained a complete description of all the herbs used in the whole *Materia Medica*. These articles

(1) Copies of these are in the Cassel collection now in my possession. A complete set of the Sower almanacs is in the library of Juniata College.

were taken from the great German Herbal of Dr. Zwinger.[1]

In the early days the Brethren were greatly in need of hymn books. This need found expression in a letter from Germantown, dated October 28, 1730, in which the writer says, "The most willing of these accompanying friends wish to settle in the New Berleberg community. They urgently crave hymn books. If the friends would do us a great kindness, please send us a couple of hundred."[2]

The first response to this need was the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, a collection of hymns compiled and selected by Conrad Beissel and his followers at Ephrata and published in Germantown by Sower in 1739.

Dr. Seidensticker says, "It is the first American book in German type."[3] It is a fine volume of over eight hundred pages. Over this book Beissel and Sower had a quarrel. In the 400th hymn, the 37th verse is as follows:

Sehet, Sehet, Sehet an!
Sehet, Sehet an den Mann!
Der von Gott erhöhet ist,
Der ist unser Herr und Christ.

which literally rendered is:

Look, look, look,
Look, look upon the Man;
He is exalted by God;
He is our Lord and Christ.

(1) The copy of this work used by Sower is in the possession of the writer.

(2) *Ecclesiastical Reports*, communicating a few new items concerning religious revivals, etc. Budingen, 1744. Volume III, p. 50.

(3) *First Century of German Printing in America*, p. 11. Two copies of this rare hymn book are in the library of the writer.

Der
Hoch-Deutsch
Pensylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber;
Oder:
Sammlung
Wichtiger Nachrichten, aus dem Natur- und Kirchen-Reich.

Erstes Stück August 20/ 1739.

Geneigter Leser

Unter andern Abgöttern, denen die grobe und subtille Welt der sogenanten Christen dienet, ist nicht der Geringste der Neuwitz. Curiosität und Begierde gerne offt was neues zu Schauen, zu Hören und zu Wissen, auch zu Sagen. Diesem Athenienischen Geist nun ein Opffer zu bringen mit Ausgebung dieser Sammlung/ ist man gantz nicht willens, nochweniger, sich selbst damit auszubreiten, oder Ruhm und Nutzen zu suchen, sondern weil man ehmahlen versprochen, die nützlichste und wichtigste Geschichte u. Begebenheiten bekant zumachen, und auch, weil denckwürdige Geschichte, wann sie den Menschen zu Ohren und Gesichte kommen, öffters tieffern Eindruck und Nachdencken erregen, als Dinge die da täglich vorkommen; so wolte man dann hiermit einen Anfang machen, mit solchen Zeichen dieser Zeit so in diesem und andern Welt theilen kürtzlich und zuverläßig geschehen, in Hoffnung es werde nicht ohne einigen Nutzen, wenigst der Auffweckung und des Auffschauens bey einigen, die es lesen, schaffen. Auch möchten wohl künfftig einige Anmerckungen und der Zeit dienliche Fragen ernstlichen Gemüthern zum Nachsinnen, oder auch wohl einige aufrichtige Antwort darauf zu geben, in dergleichen Sammlung herausgegeben werden. Der Leser lebe wohl/ und brauch es wie er soll.

Vor wenig Jahren hörte man, daß der Persianer und der Türcke grossen Krieg hatten; kaum hatte der Persianer mit dem Türcken Friede, so hatte er mit dem groß Mogel wie gegenwärtig Krieg; und der Römische Kayser hatte kaum Stillstand mit dem König von Franckreich/ so ging er samt Moscau gegen die Türcken. Anfangs victorisirten die Moscowiter an den Türcken; bald wendete sich das Blatt um, und siegten die Türcken, jedoch stehen sie noch beyderseits miteinander zu Felde. Also auch der Kayser mit dem Türcken/

wie

was sie beyde dieses Jahr gethan, davon hat man bisher noch wenig Nachricht; jedoch, daß das Reich 80 Tausend Mann zusammen gebracht, welche nach Ungarn zu marschiren solten. Die Moscowitische Kayserin hatte dem Römischen Kayser versprochen mit Volck zu unterstützen, weil er ihrentwegen den Krieg mit dem Türcken anfing: Das Volck wurde in Moscau zusammen gebracht und ausgerüstet. Als aber Schweden dieses sahe, daß Moscau ihre Macht aus dem Land zog wider den Türcken / wolten sie ihr Land wieder zu sich ziehen, welches Moscau weggenommen hat als Schweden schwach war. Da wolte Moscau das versprochne Volck nicht entbehren, sondern wolte dem Kayser mit Geldt helfen; weil aber der Kayser ohne Hülffe gegen den Türcken sich zuschwach dauchte, ließ er die Caarin wissen, wann sie ihm nicht würde Volck senden, so müste er mit dem Türcken Friede machen; dann er seye des beschwerlichen Krieges müde. Was solte nun Moscau thun? Macht der Kayser Friede, so hat der Türck auff der einen Seite seine gantze Macht, und auff der andern Seiten nehmen die Schweden ihr Land wieder: da sandte sie dem Kayser im anfang des Junij 50 Tausend Mann.

Unsere Nachrichten bringen mit, daß der König von Schweden bereits eine Armee von 80 Tausend Mañ habe; und daß der König von Franckreich den Schweden wolle zu Hülffe kom̃en mit Volck und Schiffen, gegen Moscau. Und dörffte wohl ein blutiger Krieg daraus entstehen. Dännemarck hatte mit alle diesem nichts zuthun; Nun aber Dännemarck und Engeland sich verbunden, und einander helffen wollen und müssen, und Spanien u. Engeland einen formalen Krieg haben, so hängt eines am andern.

Was Holland in dieser Sache thun wird, das wird nicht lang verborgen bleiben; sie sitzen in der Mitten, so lang sie unparteyisch bleiben, kösten sie mit allen handelen; lassen sie aber ihre Nachbaren zu mächtig werden, so kommen die Römer und nehmen Land und Leuth. Sie mögens machen.

Und weil Holland / Engeland / Dännemarck / Franckreich und Spanien / hier in America / Einjeder sein Land Theil hat (welches keiner gerne verlieren will,) so zeigt sichs Sonnen-klar, daß gegenwärtig beynahe auff dem gantzen Erdboden Krieg, und Kriegs-Geschrey zu sehen, und zu hören, und mag sich Einjeder aus dem folgenden seine Rechnung machen.

Copia der Proclemation unsers Governeurs.

Der Geehrte Ritter,
GEORGE THOMAS,
Leutenant Governeur und Oberster Commandant von der Provintz Pensyvanien / und denen Countis Neu-Castle / Kent und Sussex an der Delaware /
Läst Verkündigen

ES hat Ihro Königliche Majestät gnädigst beliebet Seinen Königlichen Willen und Wohlgefallen, durch eigne Hand mir schrifftlich an zu deuten, in folgenden Worten:

GEORGE R.

Getreuer und sehr Geliebter / Unsern Gruß zuvor. Nachdem verschiedene mal Unsere Schiffe auf den West-Indischen Küsten von den Spanischen Wacht-Schiffen daselbst

First German Newspaper in America.

ſelbſt, ungerechter Weiſe ſind beraubet und weggenommen worden, gegen den Vertrag zwiſchen Uns und der Kron von Spanien, und gegen das Recht der Natur, auch zum groſſen Schaden der recht mäſſigen See-Handlung unſerer Unterthanen: Worbey Sie manche grauſame barbariſche Thaten an unſern Unterthanen ausgeübet, Deren Schiffe durch dieſelbige Guarde Coſtas oder Spaniſche Wacht-Schiffe weggenommen worden ſind. Und nachdem man ſich bey dem Hoff von Spanien wegen dieſer ungerechten Thaten offtmals beklagt, und keine Wiedererſtattung zu wege gebracht wurde: Und obſchon ein Verglich, wegen dem Verluſt den unſere Unterthanen erlitten, zwiſchen Uns und dem König von Spanien geſchloſſen ward, ſo geſchehen den 14 Januari dieſes Jahres, N. S. wobey verſprochen ward, daß eine gewiſſe Summa Geldes zu London ſolte bezahlt werden, wozu die Zeit beſtimmet war, als eine Vergeltung welche Spanien ſich ſchuldig erkant, an die Kron und Unterthanen von Brittanien zubezahlen, welche Zeit den 25 May verfloſſen war, und keine Bezahlung erfolgte, wurde dadurch der erſt geſchloſſene Vertrag von dem König von Spanien übertreten und gebrochen, und blieben alſo unſere Unterthanen ohne Erſetzung ihres groß-erlittenen Schadens: So haben Wir vor gut angeſehen die Ehre unſerer Kron zuvertheidigen, und um die Erſtattung vor unſere unrechtmäſſig behandelte Unterthanen zu verordnen, daß Repriſalien gemacht, (oder man ſich ſelbſt rächen ſolle) an der Kron und Unterthanen von Spanien: Wir bevollmächtigen euch hiermit Krafft dieſes fort zufahren, und geben einem jeden, den ihr vor tüchtig erkennet, Commiſſion und Urlaub Ihnen wiederum zuthun wie ſie uns gethan, daß ausgerüſtet werden Kriegs- auch Privat oder Raub-Schiffe zu Rauben, Uberwältigen, Bevollmächtigen, Plündern, und wegzunehmen, die Schiffe und Güther darinnen, welche dem König von Spanien oder ſeinen Vaſalen und Unterthanen gehören, oder einigem Einwohner in ſeinem Lande, Grentzen und Gebiet: Jedoch vorbehalten, daß, ehe ein ſolcher ausfahret er ſich verbürgen ſolle, daß er ſich verhalten wolle wie es gebräuchlich iſt in ſolchen Fällen, und ihr ſolt in dem Commiſions-Schreiben melden und vorſchreiben alle Puncten, und einenjeden deſſen unterrichten, und anweiſen was in ſolchen Fällen gebräuchlich iſt; und um alſo zu thun ſey dieſes eure Vollmacht: Fahret wohl. Gegeben an unſerm Hoff zu Kenſingeon, den 15 Juny 1739, und im dreyzehnden Jahr Unſerer Regierung.

Auff ſeiner Majeſtät Befehl
Hollis Newcaſtle

(So weit des Königs Brieff.)

Deswegen mögen alle und jede Unterthanen von ſeiner Majeſtät, unter meinem Government auff ihrer Wache ſeyn, damit abgehalten werde alle Bosheit und Schade, welche die Spanier im Sin haben; indem ſie ſich werden Revanſchiren wollen gegen ſolches Verfahren, wozu Ihro Majeſtät iſt genöthiget worden, ſich Selbſt und ſeinen Unterthanen Recht zu ſchaffen. Darnach mag einjeder, in was vor einem Stand er auch iſt, den Spaniern Schaden und Verdruß anthun, auff welche Weiſe er immer kann: Ich bin befehligt ſeiner Majeſtät Order publick und bekant zu machen. Ferner iſt es ſeiner Königlichen Majeſtät Willen und Wohlgefallen,

m.r

First German Newspaper in America.

mir anzudeuten durch den Hertzog von Neucastle/ einem von seiner Majestät vornehmsten Staats Secretarien, daß keine Ammunition oder Kriegs-Rüstung oder auch keinerley Proviant, was es auch seyn mag, solle den Spaniern zu geführt werden, bey hoher Strafe und seiner Königlichen Majestät höchster Ungenade: Wornach einjeder Magistrat, Officier, und alle Andere, sich zurichten haben, und auch allen möglichsten Fleiß anzuwenden solches zu hindern.

Gegeben unter meiner Hand/ und dem grossen Siegel der Provintz von Pensylvanien, zu Philadelphia, den 20 Augusti 1739, und in dem dreyzehnden Jahr seiner Majestät Regierung.

George Thomas.

GOTT bewahre den König.

Solt man in diesen Tagen
Den Menschen-Kindern sagen/
Daß sie bey dem Betragen/
Indem sie sich so Rüsten/
Nicht wären wahre Christen/
Und nicht die Wärheit wüsten:
Sie solten einen plagen/
Und fallen an den Kragen/
Wohl gar zu Tode schlagen/
Sich wie die Gickel brüsten/
Fortfahr'n in ihren Lüsten/
Und doch seyn gute Christen.

Germanton.

Man hat folgende Nachricht aus Fridrichs Taunschip im Falckener Schwamm/ daß den 12 Augusti Abends nach 7 Uhr, ein Eyrischer Mann gekommen, vor die Thür eines Mannes Namens Hübner/ und begehrt da über Nacht zu bleiben. Der Hauswirth rüffet einen Nachbar der Englisch sprechen konte, und weil sie nichts Gutes vermutheten, wiesen sie ihn ins Wirts Haus, welches nahe war; er kam aber bald wieder, und sagte Er könte das Haus nicht finden, man solte ihn über Nacht behalten, welches ihm verwilligt worden. Die Frau nahm das Pferd, und führet es ins Feld; da kam ein Anderer und schlägt die Frau darnieder, daß sie in Ohnmacht gefallen, er wirfft sie über eine Fense, und wirfft einen grossen Klotz auff sie, meynende sie seye todt, weil sie so still geblieben. Der andere Mörder aber, welcher im Hause war, schlägt erst den alten schwächlichen Nachbar darnieder mit einem Mord Instrument, welches aparte darzu gemacht war, von Eisen in der Form eines sehr grossen Messers, daß man damit auff brechen und todschlagen könte, der Stiel war so dicke als eine kleine Faust, und schlug so gleich auch den Hauswirth, der so grausam seye zugerichtet worden das er am Kopff und gantzen Leib voller Löcher, Beulen und Blut war. Seine Mutter oben im Hause soll nebst dem Man laut geruffen haben: Mörder, Mörder, daß es eines nachbars Kind auf eine halbe Meile vorm Haus gehört, welches seinem Vater geruffen, und derselbe kam eilend mit noch einem Andern, der eben im Haus war; und diese im Hinlauffen gaben den Ruffenden laute Antwort. Durch dieses laut Ruffen wurden die Mörder erschreckt, und machten sich auff ihren Pferden davon, und liessen ihre vorgemelte Mord und diebs Messer in der Erd liegen, welche die Nachbaren gefunden, nachdem sie die Leute in ihrem Blut und Wunden angetroffen. Die Messer sind zum Justus gebracht worden, welcher den Mördern hat lassen nachspüren; man hat aber bisher nichts von ihnen erfahren können.

Verwichenen 26 Juli/ ging ein Englischer, Namens John Ward wohnhaft nahe bey Anchoras aus Wild schiessen, wird gewahr daß sich etwas im gebüsche regete, er siehet den weissen Busen eines Mannes, und meynete es wäre das hintere Theil von einem Hirsch, zielte hin und schoß seinen Nachbar, Jemes Scherrein/ auff dem Platz todt.

Es ist ein Gold Stück auff der Strasse gefundē worden/ welches ohne zweiffel jemand verloren hat. Wer dessen richtige Kennzeichen/ worin es gewickelt und was dabey war anzeigen kann/ soll solches wiederhaben bey dem Drucker hier von.

Es ist ein Manns-Rock auff der Strasse zwischen Philadelphia und Germanton gefunden worden. Wer dessen richtige Kennzeichen anzeigen kann/ soll ihn ohne Unkosten wieder haben/ bey Christoph Saur.

First German Newspaper in America.

Sower's compositor asked what this meant, as he thought Beissel was referring to himself. Sower wrote to Beissel enquiring what it meant. Beissel replied by calling Sower a fool. Sower soon after issued a pamphlet censuring Beissel and pointing out that his name—*Conradus Beusselius*—contained the number 666 of the beast of the Apocalypse. This estrangement continued for many years. But in 1744, on the return of Sower's wife to her home, the friendship of these men was renewed and continued until Sower's death. In the private letter book of Beissel, now in my library, are three letters to Sower from Beissel in which the warmest expressions of Christian love are repeatedly and earnestly pressed upon the pious printer.(1)

In 1739, also appeared the first number of *Der Hoch-Deutsch Pennsylvanische Geschicht-Schreiber*, the first German newspaper in America. The only known copy of this first number is in my possession, and, because of its significance and rarity, I have reproduced the entire newspaper.

This newspaper, under various titles, was continued regularly until the Revolutionary War abruptly ended the Sower printing house at Germantown. The unpretentious little sheet contained four pages, of two columns each; each page was 13x9 inches. The first

(1) For a full account of this controversy see Pennypacker's *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, p. 225; Dr. Seidensticker's *Die Deutsch-Amerikanischen Incunabula* in Vol. VIII, p. 475, of *Deutsche Pionier*; and *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 104.

issue bears date, August 20, 1739. As early as 1751, the subscription list was 4,000, and Sower complained that the large increase prevented its appearing on time. The teamsters who hauled it through the German settlements also complained about the number. Three hundred and thirty copies went to the Conestoga country alone, and hundreds sifted their way regularly through the German population of Maryland, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia.

But the monumental task of Sower's life was the printing and publishing of the Holy Bible. As early as 1740, Sower felt impelled to print the Bible. In 1742, he issued a prospectus,[1] and in 1743 the royal quarto Bible, the first Bible in a European tongue published in America. It was 7½x10 inches, and contained 1,248 pages.

The details of this undertaking are so many and so complex that they must be deferred to a subsequent volume, for which the writer has for several years been gathering data. This work will (D. V.) appear under the title, "The Life and Labors of the two Christopher Sowers."

The difficulties of the undertaking are stated by his own descendant as follows: "Stereotyping had not been invented and the magnitude of the undertaking at that time can now be scarcely estimated. Only forms of four pages could be set up at a time, on

(1) See advertisement of this in Bradford's *Mercury*, March 1742.

BIBLIA,

Das ist:

Die

Heilige Schrift

Alten und Neuen

Testaments,

Nach der Deutschen Uebersetzung

D. Martin Luthers,

Mit jedes Capitels kurtzen Summarien, auch beygefügten vielen und richtigen Parallelen;

Nebst einem Anhang

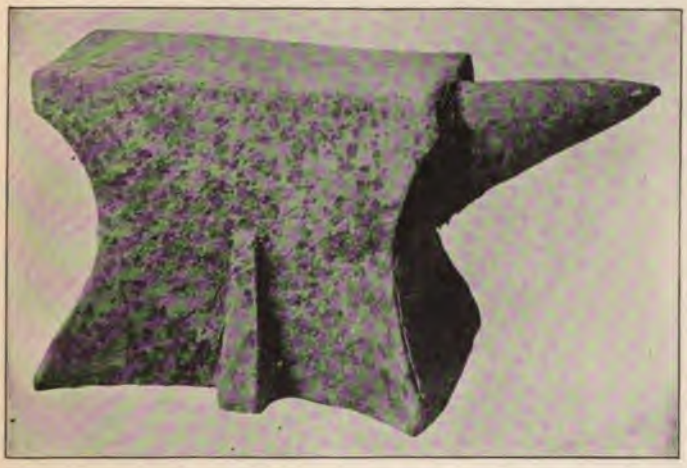
Des dritten und vierten Buchs Esra und des dritten Buchs der Maccabäer.

Germantown:

Gedruckt bey Christoph Saur, 1743.

Title Page of Saur Bible, 1743.

which the sheets for the whole edition would be printed, when the types were distributed before commencing the next form. Finding his supply of types insufficient even for this, he contrived moulds and commenced casting his own types. He also made *paper*, compounded his own printers' *ink*, bound his



Anvil on which Matrices were Forged for the Type of the Saur Bible of 1743.

books, besides various other employments in which his services could be made useful. Indeed, like a sensible immigrant in a new country, he refused no employment in which his ready ingenuity and abilities were needed. He enlarged and increased his business of publishing until his publications in the German and

English languages numbered over two hundred different works, mainly of a religious character."[1]

This Bible was issued forty years before Robert Aitken published the first English Bible in America. The type that Sower made were cast in a matrix forged in his own machine shop by his employee, Flickenstein. The anvil upon which these moulds were made was long held in regard by Frederick Flickenstein, son of the former, and at the latter's death it passed into the possession of the late Jabez Gates, in whose family it now is and through whose courtesy a photograph of it is here reproduced. To the more than two hundred works from his press from 1739 to 1758 one cannot even refer. They cover a wide range of subjects and made him easily the foremost sower of good seed in Colonial America.

A brief summary of his many activities follows:[2] Could you have entered any German home from New York to Georgia in 1754 and asked, "Who is Christoph Saur?"—you would have learned that in every German home the Bible, opened morning and evening, was printed in 1743 by Christoph Saur; that the sanctuary and hearth were wreathed in music from the *Davidische Psalterspiel*, printed by Christoph Saur; that the family almanac, rich in medicinal and historic data, and containing the daily weather guide

(1) Address of Charles G. Sower at Germantown, Pa., Jan. 1, 1899.

(2) From Inaugural Address of the writer as President of the State Teachers' Association of Pennsylvania, Bellefonte, Pa., July 5, 1898.

of the family, was printed by Christoph Saur in 1739, and every year thereafter until his death in 1758, and then by his son until 1778; that the religious magazine, prized with pious ardor and read with profound appreciation, was printed by Christoph Saur; that the secular newspaper, containing all the current domestic and foreign news, linking the farm of the German with the whole wide world, was printed from 1739 by Christoph Saur; that the ink and paper used in sending letters to loved ones across the sea came from the shop of Christoph Saur, and was of his own manufacture; that the new six-plate stove, glowing in the long winter evenings with warmth and welcome, was invented and sold by Christoph Saur; that the medicine that brought health to the sick was compounded by Dr. Christoph Saur; that the old clock, telling the hours, the months and phases of the moon, in yon corner of the room, was made by Christoph Saur; that almost every book upon the table was printed by Christoph Saur, upon his own press, with type and ink of his own manufacture, and bound in his own bindery; that the dreadful abuses and oppressions they suffered in crossing the Atlantic had been lessened by the heroic protests to Governor Denny of one man, and that man was Christoph Saur; that the sick emigrants upon landing at Philadelphia were met by a warm friend who conveyed them in carriages to his own house, and without money and without price nursed them to health, had the Gospel of the Savior

preached to them, and sent them rejoicing and healed to their wilderness homes, and that friend was Christoph Saur: that, in short, the one grandest German of them all, loved and followed most devotedly, was Christoph Saur, the Good Samaritan of Germantown.

As the warm champion of the German emigrants he won their universal love and respect. His paper was potent in the political life of the colony. He always stood with the Quakers as opposed to war and led an aggressive campaign against all oppression. His two letters to Governor Denny of Pennsylvania are typical of the man, and they must close this sketch.

Trials of Early German Emigrants.

GERMANTOWN, PA., March 15th, 1755.

Honored and Beloved Sir:—

Confidence in your wisdom and clemency made me so free as to write this letter to you. I would not have it that anybody should know these private lines, otherwise it would have become me to get a hand able to write in a proper manner and style to a person as your station requireth.

It is now thirty years since I came to this Province, out of a country where no liberty of conscience was, nor humanity reigned in the house of my then country lord, and where all the people are owned with their bodies to the lord there, and are obliged to work for him six days in every week, *viz.:* three days with a horse, and three days with a hoe, shovel or spade; or if he cannot come himself, he must send somebody in

his room (or stead). And when I came to this Province and found everything to the contrary from where I came from, I wrote largely to all my friends and acquaintances of the civil and religious liberty, privileges, etc., and of the goodness I have heard and seen, and my letters were printed and reprinted, and provoked many a thousand people to come to this Province, and many thanked the Lord for it, and desired their friends also again to come here.

Some years the price was five pistols[1] per head freight, and the merchants and the captains crowded for passengers, finding more profit by passengers than by goods, etc.

But the love for great gain caused Steadman to lodge the poor passengers like herrings, and as too many had not room between decks, he kept abundance of them upon deck; and sailing to the *southward*, where the people were at once out of their climate, and for the want of water and room, became sick and died very fast, in such a manner that in one year no less than two thousand were buried in the seas and in Philadelphia. Steadman, at that time, bought a license in Holland that no captain or merchant could load any as long as he had not two thousand loaded. This murdering trade made my heart ache, especially, when I heard that there was more profit by their death than by carrying them alive. I thought of my provoking letters being partly the cause of so many people's deaths. I wrote a letter to the magistrate at Rotterdam, and immediately the "*Monopolium*" was taken from John Steadman.

Our Legislature was also petitioned, and a law was

(1) A gold coin worth from $3 to $5.

made as good as it is, but was never executed. Mr. Spaffort, an old, poor captain, was made overseer for the vessels that came loaded with passengers, whose salary came to from $200 to $300 a year, for concealing the fact that sometimes the poor people had but twelve inches place and not half bread nor water. Spaffort died, and our Assembly chose one Mr. Trotter who left every ship slip, although he knew that a great many people had no room at all, except in the long boat, where every man perished. There were so many complaints that many in Philadelphia and almost all in Germantown signed a petition that our Assembly might give that office to one Thomas Say, an English merchant, at Philadelphia, of whom we have the confidence that he would take no bribe for concealing what the poor people suffered; or, if they will not turn Mr. Trotter out of office, to give him as assistant one Daniel Mackinett, a shop-keeper in Philadelphia, who speaks Dutch and English, who might speak with the people in their language—but in vain, except they have done what I know not.

Among other grievances the poor Germans suffer is one, *viz:* that the ignorant Germans agree fairly with merchants at Holland for seven pistols and a half; when they come to Philadelphia the merchants make them pay what they please, and take at least nine pistols. The poor people on board are prisoners. They durst not go ashore, or have their chests delivered, except they allow in a bond or pay what they owe not; and when they go into the country, they loudly complain there, that no justice is to be had for poor strangers. They show their agreements, wherein is fairly mentioned that they are to pay seven pistols

and a half to Isaac and Zachary Hoke, at Rotterdam, or their order at Philadelphia, etc. This is so much practiced, that of at least 2,000 or 3,000 pounds in each year the country is wronged. It was much desired that among wholesome laws, such a one may be made that when vessels arrive, a commissioner might be appointed to inspect their agreement and judge if 7½ pistols make not seven and a half. Some of the Assemblymen were asked whether there was no remedy? They answered, "The law is such that what is above forty shillings must be decided at court, and every one must make his own cause appear good and stand a trial." A very poor comfort for two or three thousand wronged people, to live at the discretion of their merchants. They so long to go ashore, and fill once their belly, that they submit and pay what is demanded; and some are sighing, some are cursing, and some believe that their case differs very little from such as fall into the hands of highwaymen who present a pistol upon their breast and are desired to give whatever the highwayman pleaseth; and who can hinder them thinking so? I, myself, thought a commission could be ordered in only such cases, but I observed that our Assembly has more a mind to prevent the importation of such passengers than to do justice to them; and seeing that your honor is not of the same mind, and intends to alter the said bill, I find myself obliged to let your Honor know the main points, without which nothing will be done to the purpose.

I was surprised to see the title of the bill, which, in my opinion is not the will of the crown, nor of the proprietors; neither is it the will of the Lord, who gives an open way that the poor and distressed, the

afflicted, and any people may come to a place where there is room for them; and if there is no room for any more, there is land enough in our neighborhood, as there are eight or nine counties of Dutch (German) people in Virginia, where many out of Pennsylvania are removed to. Methinks it will be proper to let them come, and let justice be done to them. The order of the Lord is such: "Defend the poor and fatherless; do justice to the afflicted and needy, deliver the poor and needy, and rid them out of the land of the wicked."—Ps. 82.

Beloved sir, you are certainly a servant of the Lord our God, and I do believe that you are willing to do what lies in your power; but I am ready to think, that as you left the bill to your counsellors, you will not be so fully informed of the worst of the grievances, as one of them has a great share of the interest. If these are not looked particularly into, that which is the most complained of, *viz:* that the captains often hurry them away without an agreement, or the agreement is not signed, or, if a fair agreement is written, signed and sealed, it will not be performed, and must pay whatever they please; and when the people's chests are put in stores until they go and fetch money by their friends, and pay for what they agreed upon, and much more, and demand their chest, they will find it opened and plundered of part or all; or the chest is not at all to be found wherefore they have paid, and no justice for them, because they have no English tongue, and no money to go to law with such as they are; and that we have no such an officer as will, or can speak with the people—but will rather take pay for concealing

their grievances—and who will speak to such an one, as it stands?

The law is, that "a man may get security as good as he can." But when merchants BIND some people together, whose families were obliged to die, and who are famished for want, and as a prisoner at the vessel is retained and forced to bind himself—one for two or three, who are greatly indebted and who, perhaps, pays his own debt while the others can't—he is forced to go out of the country, and will go rather than go to prison; and if poor widows are bound for others much in debt, who will marry such a one? Must she not go sorrowful most of her life time?

Formerly, our Assembly has brought a house on an island in the river Delaware, where healthy people will soon become sick. This house might do very well in contagious distempers, but if a place were allowed on a healthy, dry ground—where, by a collection, the Germans might build a house, with convenient places, and stoves for winter, etc.; it would be better for the people in common sickness, where their friends might attend them and take care of them. They would do better than to perish under the merciless hands of these merchants; for life is sweet.

Beloved sir, I am old and infirm, bending with my staff to the grave, and will be gone by and by, and hope that your Honor will not take it amiss to have recommended to you the helpless. We beg and desire in our prayers that the Lord may protect you from all evil, and from all encroachments, and if we do the like unto them that are in poor condition and danger, we may expect the Lord will do to us accordingly; but, if we do to the contrary, how can we expect the

Lord's protection over us? For he promises to measure to us as we do measure.

I conclude with a hearty desire that the Lord will give your Honor wisdom and patience, that your administration may be blessed, and in His time give you the reward of a good, true, and faithful servant. And I remain your humble servant,

CHRISTOPH SAUR,
Printer in Germantown.

Second Letter.

GERMANTOWN, PA., May 12th, 1755.

Honored and Beloved Sir:—

Although I do believe with sincerity, that you have at this time serious and troublesome business enough, nevertheless, my confidence in your wisdom and patience makes me write the following defective lines, whereby I desire not so much as a farthing of profit for myself.

When I heard last that the Assembly adjourned, I was desirous to know what was done concerning the Dutch bill, and was told that your honor have consented to all points, except that the German passengers need not have their chests along with them; and because you was busy with more needful business, it was not ended. I was sorry for it, and thought, either your Honor has not good counselors, or you can't think of the consequences, otherwise you could not insist on this point. Therefore I hope you will not take it amiss to be informed of the case, and of some of the consequences, *viz:*—The crown of England found it profitable to peopling the American colonies; and for the encouragement thereof, the

coming and transportation of German Protestants was indulged, and orders were given to the officers at the customhouses in the parts of England, not to be sharp with the vessels of German passengers—knowing that the populating of the British colonies will, in time to come, profit more than the trifles of duty at the customhouses would import in the present time. This the merchants and the importers experienced.

They filled the vessels with passengers, and as much of the merchants' goods as they thought fit, and left the passengers' chests, &c., behind; and sometimes they loaded vessels wholly with Palatines' chests. But the poor people depended upon their chests, wherein was some provision, such as they were used to, as dried apples, pears, plums, mustard, medicines, vinegar, brandy, gammons, butter, clothing, shirts and other necessary linens, money, and whatever they brought with them; and when their chests were left behind, or shipped in some other vessel they had lack of nourishment. When not sufficient provision was shipped for the passengers, and they had nothing themselves, they famished and died. When they arrived alive, they had no money to buy bread, nor anything to sell. If they would spare clothes, they had no clothes nor shirt to strip themselves, nor were they able to cleanse themselves of lice and nastiness. If they were taken into houses, trusting on their effects and money, when it comes, it was either left behind, or robbed and plundered by the sailors behind in the vessels. If such a vessel arrived before them, it was searched by the merchants' boys, &c., and their best effects all taken out, and no remedy for it. And this last mentioned practice, that people's chests are

opened and their best effects taken out, is not only a practice this twenty-five, twenty, ten or five years, or sometime only; but it is the common custom and daily complaints to the week last past; when a pious man, living with me, had his chest broken open and three fine shirts and a flute taken out. The lock was broken to pieces, and the lid of the chest split with iron and chisels. Such, my dear Sir, is the case, and if your honor will countenance the mentioned practices, the consequence will be, that the vessels with passengers will be filled with merchants' goods, wine, &c., as much as possible, and at the king's custom they will call it passengers' drink, and necessaries for the people, their household goods, &c., which will be called free of duty. And if they please to load the vessels only with chests of passengers and what lies under them, that will be called also free of duty at the customhouses; and as there are no owners of the chests with them, and no bill of loading is ever given, nor will be given, the chests will be freely opened and plundered by the sailors and others, and what is left will be searched in the stores by the merchants' boys and their friends and acquaintances. Thus, by the consequence, the king will be cheated, and the smugglers and store-boys will be glad of your upholding and encouraging this, their profitable business; but the poor sufferers will sigh or carry a revenge in their bosoms, according as they are godly or ungodly, that such thievery and robbery is maintained.

If such a merchant should lose thirty, forty, fifty, or ten thousand pounds, he may have some yet to spend and to spare, and has friends, but if a poor man's chest is left behind, or plundered either at sea or in

the stores, he has lost all he has. If a rich man's store, or house, or chest is broken open and robbed or plundered there is abundance of noise about it; but if 1000 poor men's property is taken from them, in the manner mentioned, there is not a word to be said.

If I were ordered to print advertisements of people who lost their chests, by leaving them behind against their will, or whose chests were opened and plundered at sea, when they were sent after them in other vessels, or whose were opened and plundered in the stores at Philadelphia—should come and receive their value for it (not fourfold) but only single or half; your honor would be wondering of a swarm from more than two or three thousand people. But as such is not to be expected, it must be deferred to the decision of the great, great, long, long day, where certainly an impartial judgment will be seen, and the last farthing must be paid, whereas, in this present time, such poor sufferers had, and will have no better answer than is commonly given: "Can you prove who has opened and stolen out of your chest?" or "Have you a bill of loading?" this has been the practice by some of the merchants at Philadelphia, and if it must continue longer, the Lord our God must compare that city to her sister Sodom, as he said: "Behold, this was the iniquity of Sodom: pride, fullness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her. Neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy (Ezekiel 16: 49) but rather weakened the hand of the poor and needy." (18: 2.)

We have at this time, especially, need to call upon the Lord for his protection; but in the meantime we ought to cleanse our hands and if we will not, he will

answer us hereafter: "And when you spread forth your hands, I will hide mine eyes from you. Yea, when you make many prayers, I will not hear, because your hands are full of blood."

P. S., June 12.—*Beloved Sir:*—If the Lord of all the Hosts shall bless your administration, you must have regard for His direction (Psalm 82) more than to any of your counselors; who may give you counsels more proper, where they have no interest in it for themselves. Permit me to say if somebody were to give me counsels directly against the will of the Lord, and against the interest of our gracious king, to cheat him, and against the welfare of this province, and to the dishonor of my character, I would think little of him or them.

The Lord bless our good king, and all his faithful ministers, and your Honor, and protect the city of Philadelphia and country, from all incursions and attempts of enemies. But if you should insist against a remedy for the poor Germans' grievances—although no remedy is to be had for that which is past—and an attempt of enemies should ensue before the city of Philadelphia, you will certainly find the Germans faithful to the English nation; as you might have seen how industrious they are to serve the king and government, for the protection of their substance, life, and liberties. But, as there are many and many thousands who have suffered injustice of their merchants at Philadelphia, it would not be prudent to call on them all for assistance, as there are certainly many wicked among the Germans; which, if they should find themselves overpowered by the French, I would not be bound for their behavior, that they would not make

reprisals on them that picked their chests and forced them to pay what they owed not! and hindered yet the remedy for others. No! if they were all Englishmen who suffered so much, I would much less be bound for their good behavior.

Pray, sir, don't look upon this as a trifle; for there are many Germans, who have been wealthy people in Germany, who have lost sixty, eighty, one, two, three, four hundred to a thousand pounds' worth, by leaving their chests behind, or were deprived and robbed in the stores, of their substance, and are obliged now to live poor, with grief. If you do scruple the truth of this assertion, let them be called in the newspaper, with hopes for remedies, and your Honor will believe me; but if the Dutch (German) nation should hear that no regard is for them, and no justice to be obtained, it will be utterly in vain to offer them free schools—especially as they are to be regulated and inspected by one who is not respected in all this Province.

I hope your Honor will pardon my scribbling; as it has no other aim than a needful redressing of the multitude of grievances of the poor people, and for the preserving of their lives and property, and that the Germans may be adhered to the friendship of the English nation, and for securing the honor of your Excellency, and not for a farthing for your humble servant

CHRISTOPH SAUR,
Printer in Germantown.

The Second Christopher Sower, Elder of the Brethren Church.

"I was born on the 26th of September, 1721, in the town of Laasphe in Witgenstein, about six hours from

Marburg." Such is the brief record in his own diary of the birth of Christopher Sower, whose influence in the church of the German Baptist Brethren is without a parallel, and whose influence among the Germans of Colonial Pennsylvania made him the peer of his own distinguished father, of Pastorius, and Weiser, and Muhlenberg.

He came to America with his parents in 1724; lived with them in Germantown for two years; removed to Lancaster county in 1726; and returned to Germantown with his father in 1731.

And now at ten years of age he is practically a motherless boy. His mother had entered the Ephrata Society sisterhood. He was sent by his father to the best German school in Germantown.

He was a pupil of the pious Mennonite, Christopher Dock, in whose school he was so well taught that there sprang up in his young heart an abiding love, not only for his noble teacher, but also for true education.

In a corner of the old Mennonite cemetery, on Germantown avenue, stood the old log meetinghouse in which Dock taught and Sower studied. Dock's plan of instruction was so unique that the elder Sower, as early as 1749, urged Dock to write a treatise on education. This Dock did after many conscientious misgivings; but he requested Sower not to publish the volume until the death of the author. After the first Sower's death in 1758, Bishop Sower urged Dock

to allow his work to be printed. Not until 1769 did the pious old schoolmaster consent. Then the manuscript was lost.

After faithful search it was found, and Dock's devoted pupil became the publisher of the volume.

Desk and Bench Used in Christopher Dock's School in Germantown

It is the first book on education printed in America. It was published in 1770, with an extended preface on education by Bishop Sower.

The young man attended the services of the Brethren, heard sermons from Alexander Mack, the founder of the church, and as a curious child of fourteen saw

the pious man borne to his grave in the old Concord burying ground. He also heard Elder Becker and other leaders. These influences in due time led him to the acceptance of the truth, and to membership in the church. "I was born anew through holy baptism on the 24th of February, 1737."[1] And now at the age of sixteen he begins the Lord's work. This he never laid down for the space of fifty years, years of toil and years of sacrifice; and yet, years of joyous service for the Lord he loved and for the church he loved.

In 1743, in harmony with the custom of his day he removed himself from his father's house and began to plan for himself. He was of age. In his own house he gave himself to meditation and to prayer. These devotions, known only to God, were by Him answered in the return of his mother to her own home. She came to him in November, 1744, and on June 20, 1745, he was rejoiced to see his parents happily reunited in their home in Germantown. In his own house he was joined on the 18th of May, 1745, by George Schreiber, and on February 24, 1746, by Philip Weber [Weaver]. His life of usefulness was thus prepared for by years of consecrated devotions. The spirit of God moved his Christian friends, and in May, 1747, he was made a deacon of the Germantown congregation. His work was so well done that on June 1, 1748,

(1) These words are from his MS. Diary in the possession of the writer.

he was called to be one of the four[1] brethren to have charge (*Versorgung*) over the congregation. That this was a tentative call is shown by the fact that in one week, namely on June 7, 1748, he, together with Alexander Mack, had placed upon him the oversight of the congregation. This action was taken, I have reason to believe, because Elder Peter Becker at this time removed to his daughter's home on the Skippack. Note, however, that these two young elders were only called to the eldership *on trial.*

It will be seen from this that there was no such practice as at present, of advancing ministers to the second degree of the ministry. There was no second degree. The elected minister was allowed only to exhort, then he was advanced, *on trial*, to the eldership. If his trial were not satisfactory, he remained an elder in name but not in oversight. If his ministry were successful and approved, later on he was ordained with the imposition of hands and became an elder in fact and in function.

In this trial state the minister was allowed to baptize and to officiate at marriages. It was so in this case. As elder on trial, Christopher Sower administered holy baptism for the first time, November 3, 1748; about five months after his call to the eldership and nearly five years before his ordination. The persons baptized by him on this occasion were Elizabeth

(1) These four were Peter Becker, Alexander Mack, Christopher Sower, and, I am inclined to think, Daniel Letterman.

Weisz [White(?)], Catharine Buchmarin and Susanna Miller. He also officiated on January 1, 1749, at the marriage of his associate elder on trial to Elizabeth Neiss.

Here then is the evolution of the ministry in the second degree among the Brethren. Later in the history of the church this eldership *on trial* was modified into ministry in the second degree.

In his own house he was, as we have seen, companioned by two brethren. George Schreiber moved away from him on July 7, 1749, and Philip Weber on

June 7, 1751. In the meantime Brother Henry Weber joined him November 24, 1749, and lived with him until June 10, 1751. This last removal was due to the fact that the young man was no longer single. On April 1, 1751, he was married to Catherine Sharpnack. Elder Alexander Mack performing the ceremony. October 12, 1752, their home was gladdened by the birth of a daughter, Christina. Two months later. December 14, 1752, he saw his mother "blessedly fall asleep in heaven."

On June 10, 1753, the congregation met in solemn services and Elder Peter Becker, now old and feeble.

laid his hands upon the head of Christopher Sower and ordained him to the eldership. At the same time Alexander Mack was likewise ordained and Henry Schlingluff was made a deacon by the same apostolic hand-laying.

The next year, 1754, his father transferred to the young man the publication of English books, the father continuing to publish during his life the German books for which his press was famous. In 1754, young Sower issued his first publication "Christian Education," which edition is now exceedingly rare. In the same year he issued "The Pennsylvania Town and Countrymen's Almanac for 1755," which he continued until after his father's death. Like all the early ministers he gave his services to the church freely and free. He gained his livelihood and amassed a fortune in the printing business and in the compounding of medicines, for he had learned the practice of medicine and the compounding of drugs from his father who was a skilled professional man.

Some would-be historians have doubted the correctness of this position and declare that Sower never did compound medicines, but simply sold drugs from his store in Germantown. But he had no store. He had a printing office, a paper mill, a type foundry, a bookbindery, an apothecary shop, and a clock factory. To fortify himself on the point that Sower was an apothecary the writer made a careful search of the old garrets in the vicinity and found ample and

unexpected evidence of the existence of an apothecary outfit. At the sale of Sower's effects in 1778, his equipment was scattered. After one hundred and twenty-one years the following have been found: A pair of scales with weights, a small bottle, two large bottles, and three wooden drug boxes. These were all purchased at his sale. But, says the skeptic, how do we know these articles were really his? They may not have been purchased at his sale. Let us see. One of these drug boxes, in the possession of A. H. Cassel, was given to him by the Leibert family, who say it was bought by Peter Leibert at the Sower sale.

These boxes, moreover, were in three sizes,—quart, half-gallon, and gallon. They were made for Sower by Heinrich Fry, an expert wood-turner, who came to Pennsylvania as early as the days of Penn. He made them for the first Sower. This should be conclusive. But still more remarkable is the fact that one of the three boxes now in my possession contained assafoetida. To prevent the odor from escaping, the inside of the lid was filled with a scrap of paper which made a perfect seal. Upon this paper the writer noticed a stain. Then carefully removing the paper he was rejoiced to find upon it these words in a plain hand, "Christopher Sower, Printer, Germantown, Pa." This is absolute proof.

The owner, Christopher Sower, had placed that paper in his box little dreaming that in doing so he would vindicate his professional life from the asper-

Articles from Sower's Apothecary Shop. In possession of the Writer.

sion of over-zealous and inaccurate compilers of historic data.

It was a severe blow to the younger Sower to be obliged to see his father die. The sad event is recorded in his diary as follows: "Sept. 25, 1758, my dear father has fallen asleep in heaven,—his age, sixty-four years."

By this death Elder Sower became the sole owner of the immense business concerns of his father. Prior to

this he was in charge of the English publications and of the bindery. Now he becomes owner and manager of the estate. He not only maintained the honorable record of his father, but he enlarged the business to proportions far beyond that of any similar enterprise in colonial America.

The first issue of the German newspaper under the son's management contained the following notice:

The old and well-known printer Christopher Sower departed this life Sept. 25th, in the 64th year of his age, and after he had lived in this country 34 years.

He was at all times both cordial and kind both to friends and enemies. He was not set up on account of his cleverness, but rather kept himself lowly. Working continually for the liberty and prosperity of the country, he was not to be turned aside from this purpose either by reward or by the flattery of the great.

His unswerving fidelity to the course he marked out for himself drew down upon him the hate of both great and little people, of the people who would gladly have seen this country, as regards temporal things, brought into a condition of servitude and slavery, and spiritually into obscurity and darkness, so as to have a better field for their dark operations.

But he feared their hate as little as he sought their favor, and keeping a watchful eye upon things, he exposed their plans, as often as he discovered them.

In the meantime, the number of those who sought his downfall has continued to increase, so that they form now a society calling themselves by the name of "Watchmen." And in truth they are watchmen (but of the kind of whom the Prophet Isaiah speaks). "They lie in wait to make trouble." Isa. 29: 20.

These *Wächter* have been looking forward to the time when Ch. Saur would be dead. Their game would then be easily won; and so they have held to their purposes, at the same time striving to extend their poisonous doctrines.

Such people, however, should remember that there is a God who sees the thoughts of men, that their thoughts are vain—and who is able to frustrate their plans.

They should remember, too, that many hot coals often lie hidden under the ashes, and moderate their rejoicing at this time, for their godless watchfulness will redound to their own shame and dishonor.

Meanwhile, I find myself impelled also to watchfulness, but out of love to God, and according to the power which God has given me to serve my neighbor with the gifts which He has given me.

I had, indeed, rather have earned my bread by continuing in the bookbinding business and so have avoided the burdens and responsibilities of a printer. This would have been much easier; but so long as there is no one, to whom I can trust the printing business, I find it laid upon me for God and for my neighbors' sake, to continue it, until it may please Providence to give me a helper; one of whom I feel sure, dwells in the fear of the Lord, so that he could not be moved, either for money or flattery, to print anything that would not honor God and contribute to the country's best welfare.

It shall be my constant endeavor to hold the paper up to this standard, and as I have advised the enemies of the truth to moderate their joy, so now I advise the friends and well-wishers of this good man to moderate their sorrow.

That which is gone from us comes not back again, and we will see that what Sirach says is also true. Sirach 30: 4, 5, 6.

Although I am not, nor dare I hope to be so richly

gifted as my father, I will nevertheless faithfully use that which is given me, and because I know that I, as well as my father (and indeed many besides him) must pass through both good and bad report, I am prepared for it, and will not allow this or that to restrain me from doing what I believe to be right and good. From these few words the thoughtful will see what they may expect of me now and in the future.[1]

I remain my dear reader's sincere and faithful friend.

CHRISTOPHER SAUR, Jr.

I am aware that the Germantown congregation is, by some so-called historians, reported to have almost disintegrated after the death of Alexander Mack, in 1735. Such is, however, not the case. The congregation was unique among the colonial churches.

It was situated in a suburban village. The membership was largely made up of artisans and men of affairs. All the other congregations were membered by agriculturists. The result was that the rural congregations were vastly more closely affiliated, one with another. Germantown stood isolated, but by no means weak, weakening, or neglected. The Mother Church was active in all the councils of the Brotherhood, and the keen business insight of Christopher Sower enabled him to direct, in a large measure, the church polity of his people.

Busy all week with his multifarious businesses, he yet had time to discharge his church duties promptly and faithfully.

[1] From the German newspaper of Christopher Sower, Sept. 30, 1758.

He was a preacher of great power and a pastor of marvelous insight. He was beloved by all his people, and by all his neighbors. His charity exceeded that of all his brethren, and he was known among the poor of Germantown as "The Bread Father."

As bishop or elder of the congregation he frequently officiated at marriages. We have already noted his service in this capacity at the marriage of his associate elder, Alexander Mack. In addition to this it is known that he married the following persons:

1749, December 7, ..Peter Leibert and Molly Neiss.
1751, June 23,.....Philip Weaver and Susanna Schreiber.
1751, July 15, ...Martin Urner and Barbara Switzer, also Peter Grauling and ——.
1753, July 29, ...Brother —— Bechtelheimer.
1755, June 29,.....John Demuth to a Sister Gertrude ——.
1756, June 7,.....John Bechtelheimer and Catharine Traut; also Justus Käutzel to a Sister Helen ——.
1763, June 22,.....Anthony Steiner and Augusta Gruber.
1763, June 26,.....Eberhart Gruber and Maria Christina.
1766, September 28, Frederick Diehl and Maria Hoffman.
1775, January 8,.....Christopher Sower[1] and Hannah Knorr

(1) This was the son of Elder Sower, the third Christopher, and a man of note in the church.

1778, April 23,.....Daniel Sower and Maria Seeler (Saylor).
1781, May 1,.....Abraham Kempfer.
1781, November 22, .Esther Sower and Christopher Zimmerman.
1783, May 20,.....William Price and Catherine Reiff.

Already the reader has noted the list of persons received into the Germantown congregation by Elder Mack. If now to this list are added those baptized by Elder Sower a relatively complete list of members of this earliest American congregation may be had. Elder Sower officiated at the following baptisms:

1748, November 3, Elizabeth Weisz, Catharine Buchmarin and Susanna Miller.
1749, April 2,.....Jacob Ganz.
1755, May 18,.....Andrew Meinchinger.
1758, March 26,....Hans Uly Rinder and wife.
1772, April 19,.....Michael Coebit, Gerhardt Clemens and wife, and Jacob Landis and wife.
1774, March 27,....Edmund Longstrath.
1774, May 12, ...Edward Bright and wife, Ruth Silence, and Elizabeth, the sister of Mrs. Bauman.
1774, July 3,.....Cornelius Neiss, William Heissler, David Meredith, Jacob Roop, George Duick, John Leibert and wife, Frederick Stam's servant girl, Hannah Knorr (who became his son's wife, January 8, 1775), Lydia Keyser, and Catharine Bauman.

1781, July 15,.....George Becker and his wife, Catharine, Nancy Becker (daughter of George and Catharine), and Catharine Stam (daughter of Frederick).

1781, May 14,.....Two sons of the late Philip Roland, and Brother Fausz. These were baptized in the Cocalico Creek in Lancaster County.

1783, November 6, Adam Weber.

1784, June 10, ...Martin Urner and his wife (Barbara Baugh.) This Martin Urner was a son of Martin Urner, the second elder of the Coventry church. He was born July 28, 1762, and died February 4, 1838.

1784, August 15,...Dirck Keyser and wife, and Susanna Weber. These were baptized only eleven days before the death of Elder Sower.

He was intimately identified with the Annual Meetings of the Brethren, and frequently attended as a delegate, using his vast influence to mould a consistent and expanding church polity.

He was selected by the Annual Meeting of 1780 to visit the congregations in Pennsylvania, and, with Elder Martin Urner, ordained deacons and elders in various places. He left his house at Methacton, to which place he had removed April 7, 1780, on August 9, and journeyed to Martin Urner's on the Schuylkill.

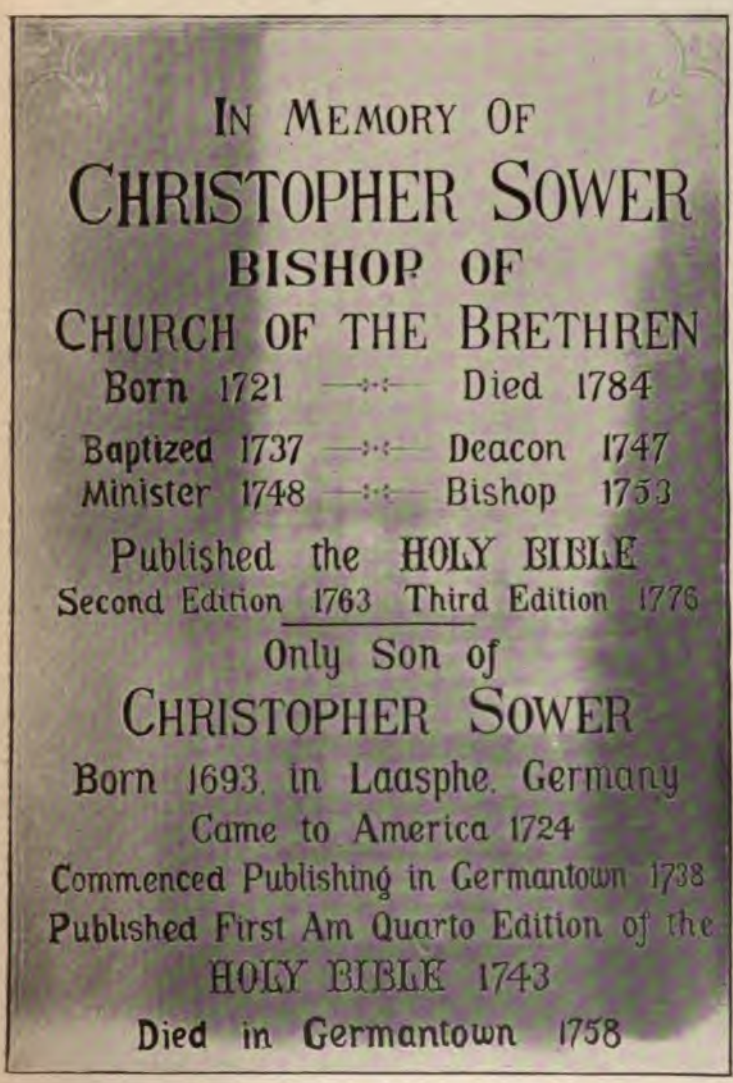
The next morning these two bishops started on a

memorable journey. On the 12th of August a great meeting was held in the Little Swatara church. It was a solemn service. In the presence of many members, elders Sower and Urner ordained to the eldership of the Oley congregation, Brother Martin Gaby, and to the office of deacon over the same congregation, Brother David Kintzy. At the same meeting they ordained the following for the Little Swatara congregation: to the eldership, Brother Michael Frantz; to the office of deacon, brethren George Baszhear and Jacob Mayer.

On the 15th of August, at the Great Swatara meeting, Brother George Müller was ordained elder of the congregation. Brother Müller had, prior to this, exercised the office of elder on trial.

The next day a great meeting was held with the White Oak congregation. In this congregation Brother Christel Longenecker was elder, but he was old and feeble, and Brother John Zug was ordained as assistant elder, and in case of the sickness or death of Elder Longenecker, Elder Zug was to have full charge of the White Oak church. Here Bishop Sower preached to a large congregation and left the people greatly comforted.

On the 17th a meeting was held at Brother Henry Royer's, and on the 18th at Brother Michael Ranck's. On August 19th, after an absence of ten days, in which time he ordained three bishops; as many deacons; officiated at three Communion services, and preached



Memorial Tablet of Christopher Sower.

perhaps, ten sermons, he returned well to his retreat at Methacton.

The next day he attended services at the Skippack. This chapter from his long and useful life clearly conveys to you the wonderful energy and devotion and usefulness of Elder Sower in the church.

On January 1, 1899, the little church at Germantown was the scene of a memorable event. Through his munificence and noble devotion to his ancestor, Mr. Charles G. Sower, the widely-known publisher of Philadelphia, presented to the congregation a beautiful memorial tablet of polished brass in honor of his pious ancestor's labors in the ministry of the church. The presentation address was made by Mr. Sower. The tablet was received on behalf of the congregation by the pastor, Brother George N. Falkenstein, and at the request of Mr. Sower, the writer delivered the memorial address on the life of Elder Christopher Sower.

Elder Sower followed the example of his father, and issued a second edition of the Holy Bible in 1763, and a third edition in 1776. In the preface to the third edition, 1776, he says, "There appears now for the third time on this American continent the Holy Bible in the so-called high German language, to the honor of the German people; in this, that no other nation can show that the Bible on this continent has been printed in their language."

The second edition, 1763, was so much in demand

that Elder Sower unexpectedly found his profits larger than he had planned. He did not quietly accept this increased income, the legitimate fruit of his industry, as many would have done. He openly announced that he was in receipt of a larger sum than he had hoped to receive and at once sought to show his gratitude for it by adding to the scanty store of reading matter then available to the Germans in America. He issued the *Geistliche Magazin*, the first religious magazine published in America. This he distributed *free*. He continued to issue these magazines at irregular intervals for seven years. Nos. 34 and 36 were written by Elder Alexander Mack. Many were written by Sower himself. In all fifty were printed and given away. Where in the history of the world will one find such a striking example of disinterested Christian piety? These magazines are now extremely rare. The writer has had the good fortune to secure in the Cassel collection a complete set.

Fraternally Yours,

Abm. H. Cassel.

The third edition, 1776, was printed and the unbound pages were laid on the loft of the Germantown meetinghouse to dry. Some of them were still there when the battle of Germantown was fought. The cav-

The Antiquarian, Abrm. H. Cassel, and the Three Sower Bibles.

May 1, 1777, to May 7, 1778 (in all ten years). In all that time he was so regular in attendance that, although a Trustee absent without cause or tardy in meeting was fined, he paid but one fine, a shilling, for an unexplained absence.[1]

Among pioneer Americans no man stands out as the active champion of a broad and liberal education more distinctly than Christopher Sower. We may safely infer that this active, energetic and unselfish devotion to education was promptly seconded by his congregation, and that the Germantown congregation was first and foremost for educational advance. Like his illustrious father, he was an apostle of light to the Germans of America. The fact that the Germantown Academy was a union school proves also that his devotion to education was based upon no sectarian view of its value, but upon that broad charity for the poor and the needy that made his life so rich in deeds of love. As the editor of a religious and of a secular paper, the publisher of two editions of the Holy Bible, of a family almanac, and of scores of religious and secular volumes, he was indeed the sower of good seed in Colonial America, and the champion of the cause of the poor Germans.

He was the shepherd of a lonely German flock, surrounded by English pitfalls and French snares.

(1) The writer's impression is that this absence occurred on the day of dedication. The building was dedicated with Masonic rites, and both Sower and his father were outspoken opponents of all secret societies.

With a resolution that never wavered, and an energy and capacity that were remarkable, he led the thought of the German-Americans and defended their rights against every open and secret foe.

He was the enemy of war, and against the shedding of his brother's blood he protested vehemently.

In 1758 his father was summoned to a court-martial by General Forbes for daring to denounce the expedition to Fort Duquesne. Sower promptly met the General at an Inn, "*To the Stag*," on *Lancaster* Street, in Philadelphia, and in three minutes proved to the distinguished General that he was not an enemy of the King, but an enemy of war, because war is the enemy of the Savior.

So Elder Sower was brought under the ban of the oppressors for daring to advocate, in the perilous hour of war, his unchanged hostility to war. In his Almanac of 1778, he wrote:

"Thou once so happy land; by God and Nature blessed,
And teeming with abundant joy,
But now, alas, by sin and wrong and vice depressed,
Thou seem'st to wither and to die.
O land; what art thou now? A scene of dismal woes,
To wake our pity and our tears;
Oppressed by rapine, murder and a thousand foes,
Unknown in by-gone years.
And desolation, hunger, want stalk in the wake,
Of the avenger's bloody steel.

* * * * * * * * *

Earth's pregnant fields lie waste, untouched by
Who erst, full—peaceful turned the soil;

> The unwilling sword he grasps and dashes in the fight;
> What tears will flow from this turmoil!"

As early as June 13, 1777, the Legislature of Pennsylvania made it the duty of every citizen to abjure the King of England and take the oath of allegiance to the State of Pennsylvania.

This imposed a double hardship upon the Dunkers, including Christopher Sower. They opposed all war and all oaths.

They were perfectly willing to obey the new Government, and, no doubt, at heart gladly would have surrendered all allegiance to the King of England, whose agents in Pennsylvania had by no means endeared English institutions to these pious Germans. But to take an oath was contrary to the very fibre of their faith.

For refusing to swear when they taught "Swear not at all," fifty-eight persons on May 8, 1778, were ordered to present themselves not later than June 25th, to the proper officers and take the oath. May 21st, a second edict was issued to the "enemies of the country."

Among this number was Elder Sower and his son Christopher.

The time of respite was to end July 6, 1778.

Now Christopher Sower was not an "enemy of the country," nor was he willing to take an oath. But before the expiration of the time legally accorded

him to find some means of escape from his embarrassment, he was in the savage grasp of the minions of the law, who thirsted more to rob him of his wealth than to honor the law they were appointed to obey as well as enforce.

Two weeks before the time given him to appear before the Magistrate he was arrested (May 25, 1778) in his home, shamefully and unlawfully abused, and deprived of an opportunity to obey the law.

He was thus in a most trying situation. Detained by the officers of the law and, moreover, unacquainted with its requirements, he was unable to obey the law; and because he did not do what he could not, his property was seized and confiscated and he was left a robbed and penniless man. True to his religion when, under so great provocation, he was reviled, he reviled not again.

Hear his own pathetic account of this crowning injustice and persecution. This account is copied from his own manuscript in the possession of Mrs. Mary Knauer, daughter of Samuel Sower, of Charlestown, Chester county, Pennsylvania:

"Having heard how a number of Quakers were punished and carried away to Virginia, and being informed that there were yet some hundreds of substantial inhabitants on the list to be taken up and secured, amongst which my name also was put down, and as there was already a beginning made and some of the millers on the Wissahickon were actually

taken away from their families, I considered what I would do, knowing Germantown would always be a disturbed place. English and Americans would continually march through it forward and backward, and having three of my children already living in Philadelphia, I bethought myself to go there to live in peace, and accordingly went to Philadelphia on the nineteenth day of October, 1777 (many months before that act was made which forbade to go to Philadelphia). I lived there quietly and peaceably till the second day of May, 1778, when I went back to Germantown, and was in my house that night and the next day till ten o'clock at night, when a strong party of Captain McClean's Company surrounded my house and fetched me out of my bed. It was a dark night. They led me through the Indian corn fields, where I could not come along as fast as they wanted me to go. They frequently struck me in the back with their bayonets till they brought me to Bastian Miller's barn, where they kept me till next morning. Then they strip'd me naked to the skin and gave me an old shirt and breeches so much torn that I could hardly cover my private parts, then cut my beard and hair, and painted me with oil colors red and black, and so led me along barefooted and bareheaded in a very hot sunshiny day. A friend of mine seeing me in that condition asked them whether they would take the shoes from me if he would give me a pair. They promised not to take them from me. And so he took the shoes from his feet and the hat from his head and gave them to me. But after we had marched six miles, a soldier came and demanded my shoes and took them, and gave me his old slabs.

which wounded my feet very much. On the 26th, at nine o'clock, I arrived at the camp and was sent to the Provo.

"My accusation in the *Mittimus* was *an Oppressor of the Righteous and a Spy*. On the 27th, in the morning, God moved the heart of the most generous General Muhlenberg to come to me and enquire into my affairs, and promised that he would speak to General Washington and procure me a hearing, and the next day sent me word that I should make a petition to General Washington, which I did; and, through the good hand of Providence and the faithful assistance of the said General Muhlenberg, I was permitted to go out of the Provo on the 29th day of May; but, as I was not free to take the oath to the States, I was not permitted to go hence to Germantown, as appears by the following pass, viz:

"'Permit the bearer hereof, Mr. Sower, to pass from hence to Meduchin, not to return to Germantown during the stay of the enemy in this State, he behaving as becometh. Given under my hand at the Orderly Office this thirtieth day of May, 1778.'"

"[Signed] NICH. GILMAN,
"*Asst. Ad. General.*"

"So I went to Methacton and stayed there until the 23rd of June, when I returned to Germantown and there lived quietly until the 27th of July, when Colonel Smith and Colonel Thompson came to my house and asked me whether I had entered special bail at the Supreme Court at Lancaster. I told them, No! 'Why not?' said they. 'Because I had no notice.' 'That cannot be,' said Thompson, 'it was in the newspapers and handbills.' I told them that I had at that time been in the Provo and at Methacton, and

had seen none of those papers, and nobody had told me of it until the time was expired. 'Have you taken the Oath to the States?' 'No.' 'Why not, were you so attached to the King?' 'No; it was not the attachment to the King, but as you have in your Act that they that do not take that Oath shall not have a right to buy nor sell, and as I find in the book of Revelation that such a time will come when such a Mark would be given, so I could not take that Oath while it stood on that condition.' 'But you went to the English, to Philadelphia,' said Smith. I said, 'Do you know why?' 'No,' said he, 'nor do I want to know.'

"Then they told me that they were come to take an Inventory of my Personal Estate and sell it, and to rent out my Real Estate. I told them that I would submit to all that the Lord permitted them to do, and so Smith stood guard that I might not put anything out of the way, and Thompson went out to get Appraisers and a Clerk, and so they began to appraise. I then beg'd they should let me keep my bed, but Smith gave for answer that they had no right to let me have anything besides my clothes and provision (which last he did not abide by, for when they found a barrel of rice they took it down, although it was provision). I then beg'd for a few Medicines which I had put up for my Family's use, as they were chiefly of my own and my Father's preparation, and nobody else knew what they were. But Smith said medicines were very valuable. They must be sold. Then I beg'd for nothing more except my spectacles, which was granted. On the 28th they told me that I must quit the house for they must rent it out, and so I moved out on the 30th of July.

"Then they proceeded to sell my effects, but before the sale came on my son Daniel endeavored to stop the sale, and applied to L. Matlock and asked him whether his father should not have a hearing. He reply'd, 'Yes! but we must sell his effects first.' He then apply'd to Mr. Lewis to stop the sale till next Court, who endeavored to do it. But they had invented a lie that I or some of my people had secretly crept into the house and had destroyed all of the New Testaments, and if the sale did not go on all would be destroy'd before said Court came on. And so they persevered with the sale of my Personal Estate and rented out my houses and lands for one year and then sold them, also contrary to the Confession of the Convention in the case of forfeited Estates by which no real Estate could have been sold before my youngest Son is of age. And so they have not only broken the Fundamental rule in selling my estate, but have also published me in almost all Newspapers as a Traitor, without any cause and without ever giving me a hearing or a trial; altho. I was never gone an inch from my place of abode and their own Attorney, Mr. Bradford, has himself declared to a friend of mine that if I had not forfeited my life I had not forfeited my Estate; for they had no more right to my Estate than to my life."

Scarcely less painful was the abuse heaped upon him because of his opposition to slavery. Miller's *Staatsbote*, of 1775, contains a savage attack upon him. But he knew how to suffer and be strong. He steadily dealt herculean blows at a traffic which his

soul abhorred and which he believed his God abominated.

"It is with the utmost regret that we learn that Germans are to engage in the nefarious slave traffic. Though they are well paid for everything they sell, they still begrudge laborers, servants, or maid-servants their pay." This Godless traffic could find, up to the present, no safe footing in Pennsylvania, owing to the abhorrence the Germans still have for it. But, for some years back, even some among them are beginning to take part in this great injustice. For, as merchants find that these 'black goods' find a ready market, they engage in it. Thus we are assured that three ships have been sent from Philadelphia to the African coast to steal these poor creatures, though this has never happened before. May God be merciful to our country before its measure of iniquity is full and the vials of His wrath are poured out upon it!"

How prophetic are these words! Just one hundred years after they were written, in the din and roar of civil strife, God avenged this horrible traffic, and through the heroic efforts of Lincoln and the boys in blue, this sin was wiped from the American people.

On every great question of religion, of politics, of education, and of industry, he wrote, and wrote wisely. He won the love and confidence of all true men. His holy life enlarged the borders of his influence and commanded the respect of his oppressors. The Germantown church flourished under his able ministry

---

Pennsylvania Reports, Feb. 15, 1761.

and that of Alexander Mack. It exerted a mighty influence for primitive Christianity in Colonial America.

When the fury of war had blasted his hopes and impoverished his life, he was still rich; rich in his devotion to duty, rich in the love and confidence of his friends, and rich in religious zeal.

Even in his poverty God opened to him a refuge. At Methacton the homeless and wifeless[1] old saint of God found a refuge in an old building, perhaps the one-room upper story of a spring house, belonging to Conrad Stam(m).

Accompanied by his devoted daughter, Catherine, he left the house of Bro. Henry Sharpnack in Germantown on April 7, 1780, and went to Methacton to die.

God touched the hearts of friends and he was given money and provisions, as follows:

Brother Henry Sharpnack loaned twenty dollars, congress.

Brother William Hanschel gave twenty dollars, congress.

Friend Anthony Benezet gave one guinea.

Brother Fausz gave six dollars.

Friend Joseph Kretzer, in Lebanon, gave eight dollars.

Friend Jno. Wistar gave eight dollars.

(1) His wife died January 8, 1777.

Reinhold gave 1 lb. tea, 6 lbs. sugar, 3 lbs. coffee (fifteen shillings).

In his diary he records these as given "after the robbing of my property," and further adds, "All of which I promise to honorably repay as soon as God places me in condition to do so. In case such is not possible in my life, let restoration be made out of the little I leave behind as far as it can be, and I have trust in God that He will richly reward what I am not able to restore."

To the credit of his memory and as an example to all men he was able to record in the last days of his life, in a feeble hand under these accounts, these words as a memorial of Christian honor: "The above has all been paid."

In the midst of his toil for the church he loved, Christopher Sower was called home. At the closing hour his devoted daughter, Catherine, and his son, Samuel, gave him the ministration of their loving hearts, and closed his eyes in peace.

They buried him in a walnut coffin, an act without precedent in the family, and laid him to rest in the quiet city of the dead. At his funeral service Elder Martin Urner and Samuel Hopkins paid touching tribute to his noble life; his associate elder, Mack, too full for utterance, gave tribute to his worth in a hymn composed for the occasion. The hymn was sung at his funeral. It is found in the *Psalterspiel*, page 22. An imperfect translation from the German follows:

Methacton Meetinghouse, Burial Place of Elder Christopher Sower.

Now breaks the earthly house entwain,
Now can this mortal frame decay:
The pilgrimage is brought to end,
Now can the spirit fly away.
The soul at last has overcome.
Through Jesus was the victory won.

Now unto Jesus will I go.
Who died for me, as mortals die;
And found for me, through pain and woe,
A place of refuge in the sky.
He has for me a better house.
In store prepared, above the sky.

Shed not so many tears
My friends and my companions dear;
You can believe, I now am free
From every mortal care and fear.
O! look unto the Lamb once slain,
Through whom you can redemption gain.

Thy staff through life I leaned upon;
I hungered for a patient faith;
Then Jesus spoke unto my soul
From all my doubt a full relief;
Like frost, when touched at op'ning day,
By sunlight, quickly melts away.

Speak not of others' worthiness,
But only of what Christ has done;
The world, with all its vanities,
Can never save a single one,
Redemption has appeared to men
Through Jesus' grief and dying pain.

Over his body was erected a simple slab of marble, upon which is carved in his own words a triumphant challenge to death and an eloquent assurance of faith in God:

"Death thou hast conquer'd me;
'Twas by thy darts I'm slain;

But Christ shall conquer thee,
And I shall rise again.

"Time hastens on the hour,
The just shall rise and sing,
O Grave, where is thy power?
O Death, where is thy sting?"

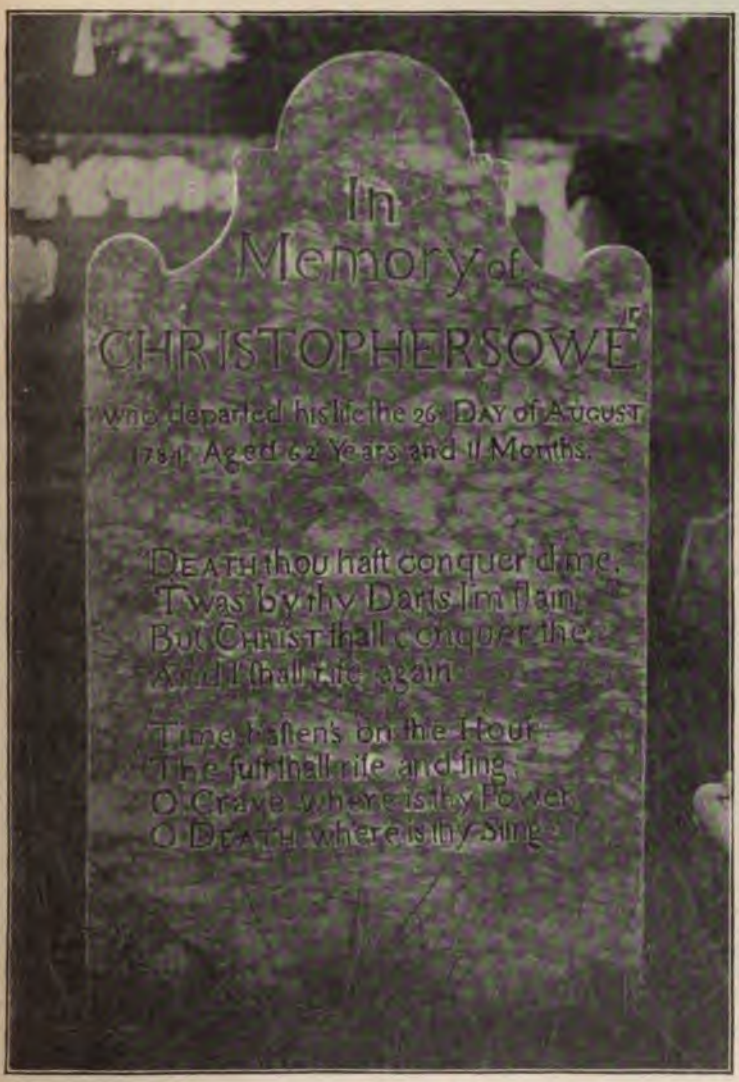
To him let us pay tribute in the words of his own son, Christopher, who was in London when the sad news of his father's death came to him in a letter from Samuel, the youngest son of Bishop Sower.

LONDON, February 2, 1785.

MY DEAR BROTHER:—

I received your letter of the 1st of September last, and was much affected at the information it contained. The father, then, who raised us with tenderness, in whose lap and from whose lips we have received so much salutary instruction as must appertain to everlasting life, if practiced by us, is now no more. I was never more unmanned than when I received this news. All my philosophy forsook me at once; which is the more extraordinary, as my soul wished him well, and I am convinced his change is for the better.

He lived the Christian and died the death of the righteous. Oh, may our latter end be like his! He is numbered among the children of God and his lot is among the saints. He has fought a good fight, has finished his course, has kept the faith. He knew his Redeemer liveth. Merciful men are taken away. The righteous are taken away from the evil to come. They have no continuing city here. They enter into peace and rest. And, although I am sensible of all this, I grieved and sorrowed as if I were ignorant con-



Gravestone of Christopher Sower.

cerning them that are asleep, even as others that have no hope.

Forgive me, dear brother, this digression; forgive me this burst of sorrows.

Our Parents being now transplanted into a world where the clock doth not strike and from whence no one returneth, it becomes my duty as elder brother to enjoin you never to lose sight of those instructions you have from time to time received from them: put them into practice and you will be benefited by them. You will find them an ample compensation for our terrestrial hopes and disappointments. Let your spare time be spent in reading books on Religious, Moral and Historical subjects. They will enlarge your mind, disclose the wiles of Satan, and lead you to the knowledge of man. In the first must be your delight and the others you will consider as only secondary things. Make piety, industry, and honesty the undeviable rule of your whole life. Make yourself master of your trade or the profession you are now learning and do not for any paltry reason change it for another.

It gives me singular satisfaction to reflect that you live in the neighborhood with Brother Urner and let me recommend to you to consult him on all occasions and take his advice as that of a father. Salute him and his family most cordially from me and Hannah and assure them that although at this great distance I am open both to instruction and reproof. And finally, dear brother, remember what I have said unto you, I say unto you all.(1)

(1) Original letter in possession of the writer.

His work is done. He lived, wrought, suffered and died, and is not forgotten. In the literature of the country his name is written imperishably. In the church he loved, his holy example is cherished as a sacred heritage. In God's love he is gathered among "the hundred and forty and four thousand who have come up through great tribulation, and who stand before the throne and say, Holy, holy, Lord, God Almighty."

To Christopher and Catharine Sower were born nine children.

1. Maria Christina was born October 12, 1752. She died August 13, 1753.

2. Christopher was born January 27, 1754. He was baptized by Elder Mack, June 27, 1770; married Hannah Knorr January 8, 1775; and with his brother Peter began the printing business in Philadelphia in 1777. He allied himself with the King's party in the Revolutionary War and was, no doubt, the cause in part of his father's persecution. In 1779, he founded the *Royal Gazette* in St. John's, New Brunswick. Went to England in 1784 to recover his father's property, and was made Printer to the King and Post-Master General of Nova Scotia. He removed to Nova Scotia in May, 1785. Later he removed to Baltimore, where he died, July 3, 1799.

His wife was baptized by Elder Sower, father of her husband, July 3, 1774. She was a sister to the wife of Zachariah Poulson, publisher of the *Phila-*

delphia Daily Advertiser. She died March 21, 1837. They had six children,—Mary, Christopher, Priscilla, Brook Watson, Harriet, and Martha H.

3. Daniel was born October 14, 1755. He was married January 17, 1786, to Maria Seiler (Saylor), who was born October 2, 1752; died February 16, 1839. Daniel settled on a farm near Phoenixville, Pa., where he died December 27, 1818. To them were born three children,—Esther, Hannah, and Samuel.

4. Samuel was born December 17, 1757, and died on the 23rd.

5. Peter was born January 8, 1759; at eighteen he engaged in the printing business with his brother Christopher in Philadelphia. He went with his brother to New Brunswick and subsequently returned and studied medicine. He began the practice of medicine on Cat Island, British West Indies, where he fell a victim to yellow fever, 1785. He never married.

6. Catharine was born February 25, 1761, baptized[1] October 1, 1769, by Elder Mack, and married Samuel Harley, May 10, 1785. Her husband was a son of Rudolph and Mary Harley. Mary Harley was a daughter of Peter Becker. Thus the Becker and Sower families were united by this marriage. Catharine was a woman of unusual literary and business ability. She greatly aided her father in his business,

(1) This date is given in the great *Genealogical Chart of the Sower Family*, compiled by Charles G. Sower. But the diaries of Elders Sower and Mack do not contain it. I am inclined to think it too early.

and in his old age she was his faithful companion and assistant. Through her self-sacrificing devotion she aided in earning a livelihood for her impoverished father, and did not marry until after his death. She died July 16, 1823. To them were born twelve children,—Daniel, Samuel, Mary, Sarah, John, Catharine, Joseph S., Elizabeth, Hannah, a son still-born, Jacob S., and Abraham.

7. Esther was born August 30, 1762; baptized by Elder Martin Urner, April 8, 1781; married Christopher Zimmerman November 22, 1781; and died June 13, 1786. To them were born two children,—Catharine and Jacob.

8. David was born November 6, 1764; was baptized April 8, 1781, by Elder Martin Urner; and in 1786 married Catharine Saylor. He was a famous printer: had a bookstore in partnership with William Jones at No. 66, North Third Street, Philadelphia; removed to Norristown in 1799 and founded the *Norristown Gazette*, later the *Norristown Herald;* lived for some years in Westmoreland (or Fayette) county, Pennsylvania; returned in 1824; and died October 12, 1835. His wife was born January 1, 1763, and died May 7, 1828. They had seven children,—Charles, Christopher, Mary, David, William, Edwin, and Eliza Angelina.

9. Samuel was born March 20, 1767. This was the second child to whom the father gave the name Samuel. The first one lived only six days. This

Samuel was a noted printer and type-founder. His first press was at Chestnut Hill, now a part of Philadelphia, whence he removed, in 1794, to 71 Race Street, Philadelphia, and the next year to Baltimore, where he conducted one of the largest printing and type-foundry industries in America. He was thrice married,—Sarah Landis, Hannah Schlosser, and Elizabeth Lamotte being his successive wives. He had one child,—Maria.

The first Christopher Sower was a prolific writer. His newspaper and his almanacs contain numerous articles on such important subjects as "The Use and Abuse of Brandy," "The Indian," "War and Peace," "Remarks on Miracles," "Religion," "On Preaching," "Schools and Schoolmasters," "The Spirit of the Times," "On War," "A Protest against War," "Against Lotteries," "The High School in Philadelphia," "The Use of Fire Arms," "Against Rented Pews," "Racing and Other Disturbances," "A Plea for the Pennsylvania Hospital," "Woman's Foolish Dress," "Treatment of Immigrants," "Against Theatres," "The State Assembly," "Duty of Christians to the Indians," "Against the Moravians," and many kindred topics relating to the religious, educational, industrial, social, and civic welfare of the Germans of Colonial America.

His son was still more active in heralding right ideas to the German people. He wrote wisely and at length upon "Courts of Justice," "Religion of the Esqui-

To be true was my intention,
But too often I have failed,
Year for year thou hast been waiting,
And thy patience did extend;
Till my strength was weakened,
And with self-will I was done:
And resolved henceforth to live,
As the Lord did wisdom give.

O selfishness! thou wretched folly,
Ofttimes dost thou bring distress;
May I overcome thee wholly.—
Always feel that blessedness;
Of that strong redeeming love,
And the power from above;
Me to lead in all His ways,
Ever living to his praise.

Prove me Lord and search me wholly,
Thou canst know my inner life;
Guard my heart from ev'ry folly,
Let me conquer in the strife.
O let winds that trouble blow,
Teach me better thee to know;
That upon a trial's day,
I may bear the crown away.

Here there is yet time for working,
Sternly still, the right pursue;
Very soon there will be given,
Great rewards to all the true,
Who with courage ventured on,
And could say, vain world be gone;
With thy tempting pleasures ail,
Seeking us to bring to fall.

Sixty years have now been fleeting,
Of my timely staying here;
As an arrow shot off quickly,
Idleness does disappear.
Oft does it our time consume.
That we do not hurry on;

And complain when 'tis too late,
That we did not change our state.

Alas! I must feel quite lowly,
Many times lament the loss;
That so much of worldly trouble
Found much place within my breast;
And my heart did so confuse,
That of love I oft did lose;
And the work which most was needed,
Oftentimes was unattended.

Under many storms of trouble,
And temptations great and small,
God still knew how to protect me,
That I did not come to fall.
Love to me did still extend,
Wonderful and without end.
Without Him I must have perished,
In the time of great distresses.

Rejoice my soul and give thou praises,
For the patience of thy God;
Since he has by many wonders,
Kept for thee an open path.
May his great and sovereign will,
Keep me in His statutes still;
May His care me still befriend
Till my last expiring end.

CHAPTER XI.—The Ephrata Society, and Its Relation to the German Baptist Brethren.

The first division in the Brethren church in America resulted in the founding of the widely-known and little understood society of semi-mystical Germans who flourished for a century at Ephrata, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania, and then faded away.

Through this Ephrata Society the Brethren or Tunkers were largely advertised, and from the widespread confusion as to the identity of this movement nearly all the customs and peculiarities of the Ephrata Society have been placed to the credit of the Brethren. It is, therefore, a matter of moment to understand what the Ephrata Society was, and how it originated from the Brethren.

The head and front of the Ephrata Society was John Conrad Beissel. With him it began, with his death it began to decline. He was born in 1690, at Eberbach, on the Neckar, in the Palatinate. His father was a baker, and a drunken, dissolute man. Two months after his father's death Conrad was born. His mother was a godly woman, and aided by her older children, she kept her family well together. Conrad was so small in stature that he was accustomed to say to his oldest brother, "If you were as small as I, you would have to be born over again." At eight his mother

died. The little orphan grew up in destitution, cared for by his brothers and sisters.

As soon as he was old enough, he was apprenticed to a jovial baker, who was also a musician. From him the young man learned to play the violin and to dance. He was much in demand at parties and at weddings, where he acted as chief musician. When he was twenty-five years of age, to the amazement of his gay friends, he was seized by the "spirit of penitence." To his friend George Stiefel he first made known his conversion, claiming it was of God and through no human instrumentality whatever.

He became a journeyman baker, was at Strasburg, and finally at Manheim, where he served under a baker named Kantebecker. Kantebecker's wife was a tyrant. Beissel called her a Jezebel, and left. His aversion to marriage, as shown in his Ephrata cloister system, is supposed to grow from his experience with this woman.

He went to Heidelberg and served with a baker named Prior. Here Beissel formed the acquaintance of many learned Pietists, including Mieg, Kirchmayer and Haller. He became a regular attendant upon the *Collegia Pietistica* and was full of zeal in the cause. His devotion to Prior, and his gratitude for Prior's assistance and protection under persecution, he never forgot.

Beissel was an expert baker. He incurred the jealousy of the other bakers in the city. They charged

him with being a Pietist. He was arrested and cast into prison. His employer offered to ransom him. The offer was refused. Beissel was banished. Haller advised him to go to Schwarzenau. He fled first to his old home at Eberbach to say farewell to his relatives.

Years afterward, in 1755, he wrote a heretofore unpublished letter to this good man Prior in which he says:[1]

"God greet you as my master that was, thirty-eight years ago. . . . I have many a time pondered over those times, and it went every time much to my heart, especially as you also had taken such great pains for me before the city council. May the Lord be your reward and requiter upon the day of blessed eternity. . . . What sorrowful times I have had since then cannot be written. . . . I yet must bless you and all your household, as I recognize it as the house of my spiritual mother, for in those days I still sat on the lap, and did not know what it costs to stand and to walk on one's own feet.

"In regard to my present condition, I have to report that what I have been seeking during these long years and with so many pains and tears, has come to me. I am waiting with longing for the consummation of the tribulations of the whole Church of God.

"I greet you a thousand times, together with your beloved daughter, whichever it was that sent me greet-

(1) Manuscript *Letter Book* of Beissel, p. 90. Original in the writer's library

ings. I shall not forget you as long as I yet shall live on this earth.

CONRAD BEISSEL,
"A stranger and pilgrim in this world. *Vale.*"

From Eberbach he fled by night to escape arrest and persecution. For a time he was in the service of a baker named Schatz, an Inspirationist. Here Beissel met the renowned John F. Rock. But he did not long enjoy their company. He at this time met many of the Brethren at Marienborn and at Schwarzenau and at Creyfelt.

Restless, discontented, and full of high ambition he joined his fortunes with two intimate friends, Stiefel and Stuntz, and the three sailed to America. They landed at Boston in 1720, and made their way directly to Germantown. Stuntz advanced money to Beissel for the voyage,—the latter being too poor to pay for his voyage. At Germantown Beissel determined to learn the weaver's trade, and so he became an apprentice to Peter Becker, the leader of the Taufers or Brethren. Here he was well treated and his heart was in part opened to the truth as the Taufers held it. In the autumn of 1721 he and Stuntz went up into the Conestoga country to live as hermits. They were evidently led to this by the influence of the followers of Kelpius, Pietists on the Wissahickon.[1] Here they were joined by Isaac Van Bebber, who had crossed the

(1) For an account of the Kelpianites see Sachse's *Pietists of Colonial Pennsylvania;* also Walton and Brumbaugh's *Stories of Pennsylvania.*

Atlantic with them. Stiefel soon came to them and the four lived in seclusion and in daily meditation and prayer. Stiefel soon left and joined the Moravians. Van Bebber also abandoned the hermits and in a shipwreck was severely frozen. He was cared for by Dr. Christopher Witt, the last of the Kelpianites.

Stuntz also wearied of the solitude, sold their cabin to recover the ship-money advanced to Beissel, and departed. Alone now in the wilderness, Beissel erected a second lodge at the Swedes' Spring and was made happy by the coming of Michael Wohlfahrt, a Pietist from Memel on the Baltic Sea. This was in 1724.

The next event in his life is the outgrowth of the missionary tour of the Germantown Taufers. Beissel was baptized by Peter Becker on November 12, 1724, in Pequa Creek, and the same evening attended a love feast of the Brethren at Henry Höhn's house. Upon the return of the Brethren the next day, Beissel was left with a group of newly baptized members. Hans Meyer proposed Conrad Beissel as their preacher. The proposition was unanimously approved, and in December, 1724, Beissel presided for the first time at a love feast at Siegmund Landert's house. What a transformation! Baker, fiddler, weaver, minister of the church of the Brethren! The roving spirit at last finds an anchorage, and settles down to a peaceful, zealous life. But he had not been thoroughly indoctrinated. Like many another

proselyte he soon showed signs of restlessness and of dissatisfaction. This was all the more emphasized in his life by the following influences:

1. He was, in Germany, under the influence of Pietists and Inspirationists. Church ordinances were denounced. Religious anarchy was proclaimed. The reaction from this had begun, and the mild middle ground of the Taufers could not long prevent him from moving on to absolute ritualistic religion.

2. The Kelpianites greatly aided and encouraged him in this now irresistible tendency. They especially imparted new emphasis to the mystical tendencies of his all-too-superstitious and uneducated nature.

3. The mystical teachings[1] of Boehme, Rock, Hochmann, and other kindred spirits drew him into religious unrest.

4. The Keithian controversy in the Quaker Society upon the sufficiency of what every man has naturally within himself for the purpose of his own salvation, led to a division in 1691. This Keithian controversy led in 1700 to the founding of the Keithian or Quaker Baptist Society. Able Noble was the founder. The first baptism occurred in 1797, and the movement spread. The first Society met at Newtown Square, tne second at Pennepek, the third at Nottingham, and the fourth on French Creek in East Nantmeal township in Chester county. This last congregation was

(1) See his *Theosophical Epistles* published at Ephrata in 1735.

organized in 1726. These Baptists observed the seventh day as the Sabbath, and from them Beissel, on his journeys to the Coventry Brethren, imbibed the Seventh Day doctrine.[1]

Gradually these influences, to which must be added the further unfortunate fact that the church in America was not yet thoroughly organized, led Beissel to promulgate strange doctrines and to spread alarm and distress among the Brethren.

At this time he lived in a house erected for him by Rudolph Naegle, who had been baptized by Beissel in May, 1725.

In 1728 he published a defense of the seventh day as the Sabbath. This, combined with his denunciation of the married state and his leanings to the Mosaic law, led to numerous controversies between him and other Brethren. It was apparent that he meant to institute practices at variance with the accepted tenets of the Brethren.

He finally threw all restraint away and openly declared his independence, and in December of 1728, Jan Meyle, one of his followers, rebaptized him in the Conestoga Creek, and then Beissel rebaptized all who with him adhered to the tenets he promulgated. This rebaptism was regarded by him as a "giving back to the Brethren" their baptism.

It is to be noted that this act was of his own initia-

[1] See Morgan Edwards' *Materials*, etc. Chapters I and II, pp. 55-64

tive and marks the complete separation of the Beissel party from the German Baptist society. The Brethren made several attempts to reconcile him, and visited his home for that purpose, but Beissel absented himself and the efforts were in vain.

Left now to himself Beissel began a unique career. He denounced all marriage save that of "holy, quiet souls devout with Jesus alone." Some of his flock did not take kindly to the celibate doctrine. Discussion, dissension and differences arose. Beissel recognized three classes of members in his spiritual household; the Household members, or those who were married; the Solitary brethren who lived a single, chaste life; and the Spiritual Virgins, who from time to time fled to him and placed themselves under his guidance and vowed to live a pure, virgin life. To these celibates he showed marked favors. Finally, in the beginning of 1732, he called the elders of the congregation together, placed the New Testament in their hands, gave them oversight of the congregation, and left.

Eight miles away on the banks of the Cocalico[1] Creek lived Emanuel Eckerlin. Here Beissel once more became a hermit. Meanwhile the congregation met at Simon Landis' place and the members' quarrels were so frequent that the services were called "court meetings." In their trials they longed for a leader. Beissel was searched out and importuned to

(1) The Delaware Indians named the stream *Koch-Halekung*, Serpent's den.

return. He refused. Late in 1732 Jacob Gast, Samuel Eckerlin, and Martin Brewer of the Solitary moved to him. Soon thereafter Anna and Maria Eicher, the first to take the vow of virginity, also came and asked to be taken in. In 1733, Israel and Gabriel Eckerlin came to this new place. To quiet the tongue of scandal, the brethren erected a house on the opposite bank of the Cocalico and in May, 1733, the Eicher girls moved into it and remained there until the founding of the Sisters' Convent. *This is the beginning of Ephrata.* Its founding dates from 1732. And now began an influx of discontented or "awakened" spirits from all parts of Eastern Pennsylvania, and Ephrata became a growing colony. Beissel was supreme once more.

Beissel now began an active system of religious visits to the various settlements to win converts. He was artful and possessed of such remarkable enthusiasm that he was usually successful. At Falkner's Swamp, Conestoga, Coventry, Germantown, Oley, and Tulpehocken he drew to himself numerous followers. In the Tulpehocken region he succeeded in winning the famous Conrad Weiser, in many respects the most remarkable German in Colonial America,[1] and the learned Peter Miller, minister of the Reformed church at Tulpehocken.

[1] Weiser was the father-in-law of Rev. Henry M. Muhlenberg and [illegible] father of Gen. Muhlenberg of the Revolution and his brother, the first Speaker of the Congress of the United States. A complete life of Weiser is soon to appear from the pen of Dr. J. S. Walton.

Grave of Peter Miller.

Peter Miller was a native of Oberamt Lantern, Germany. He was a graduate of Heidelberg University, a man of profound erudition, and a finished scholar. He crossed the Atlantic on the ship, *Thistle*, Colin Dunlap, Master, and landed in Philadelphia, August 29, 1730.[1] Rev. Jedediah Andrews says of him, "He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. His name is John Peter Müller, and speaks Latin as readily as we do our native tongue." "He is," says Acrelius,[2] "a learned man, understands the Oriental languages, speaks Latin, discusses theological controversies as well as other sciences.'

Autograph of Peter Miller.

Weiser and Miller were baptized on a Sabbath day in May, 1735. The former was in and out of the society and did not prove a pliant instrument to Beissel's will. Miller, on the contrary, was a true and devoted Ephrataite till his death, September 25, 1796, and was Beissel's successor as Superintendent.

Reference has already been made to the exodus of Germantown members of the Brethren to Ephrata in 1738-39.

The society now began to erect separate and substantial houses for worship, and for the different or-

(1) Rupp's *30,000 Names*, p. 62; also Rupp's *History of Lancaster County*, p. 229.

(2) *History of New Sweden*, p. 374.

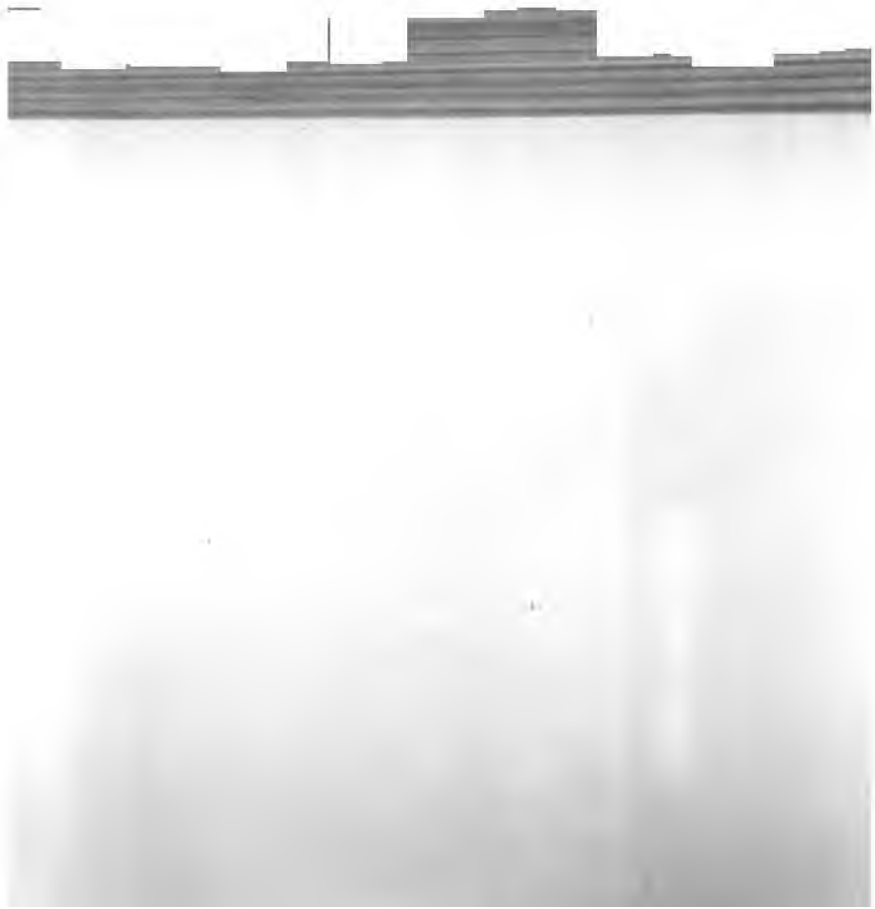
ders of the membership. In 1740 "Bethania," the house for the solitary brethren was erected. The *Chronicon* says of "Bethania," "The beams, rafters and bolts were made so strong and so fast that the likes of such a building will scarcely be found in North America."

A house for the sisters called "Hebron" and later "Saron" was erected in 1744. It stands at right angles to the "Saal," or house of worship, and is connected with it. Let us follow Israel Acrelius to the "Saal:"

"The church is not large, a few hundred people could easily have filled it. The front part of it, covering about one-third of the whole, was raised a few steps higher than the rest. The brothers were seated here in regular order. Müller and Eleazar (Jacob Eicher who was then Prior) occupied seats opposite each other on both sides. The others sat on long benches in double rows. There was a gallery above for the sisters, and so arranged that they could not see the congregation nor the congregation them. Father Friedsam (Beissel) was seated at the foremost row of the raised choir. After all had been assembled everything remained very quiet for a little while

"In the meantime it was very plain that Father Friedsam was getting ready. He placed his hands to his side, cast his head up and down, turned his eyes hither and thither, tugged at his lips, his nose, his throat, and finally intoned a hymn in a low voice. Then the sisters in the gallery began to sing, and the brothers joined in. All that occupied seats on the

Brother House (Bethania) at Ephrata.



Interior of Meetinghouse [Saal] at Ephrata.

raised choir sang together a very beautiful hymn lasting about one quarter of an hour. Hereupon Peter Miller arose and read the third chapter from Isaiah. Father Friedsam renewed his queer motions as before, and his demeanor was rather ludicrous than dignified. Finally he arose, folded his hands, raised his eyes towards the ceiling and spoke of the natural blindness of the human understanding and prayed for enlightenment and God's blessing. . . . He spoke in an extremely voluble way, hastily and gesticulating wildly. Now his hands flew about him, now they were pressed to his breast. Now one was thrust to his side, now both. It also happened that he scratched his head, rubbed his nose, or cleaned it with the back of his hand. Of his congregation, which he called his Jerusalem, some became quite excited and shook their heads, others wept, others slept, etc. The sermon concluded with an Amen."

"Bethania" stood on a flat near the creek, and was cut into many small rooms, each containing a small window and a sleeping bench with a wooden block for a pillow.

"Saron" and "Saal" stood on a hill not far away. These structures were much like that of "Bethania." The sisters engaged in ornamental writing, composing hymns, weaving, spinning, and kindred industries. They also worked in the fields with the brethren. A widely current bit of nonsense is quoted by Seidensticker[1] and also by Sachse[2] who says, "Sister Pauli-

(1) History of Ephrata, *The Story of an American Monastery.*

(2) *The Sabbath Keepers in Pennsylvania*, p. 31.

na is mainly remembered by the huge basket she wove in her room, which proved too large for the cell-door, and remains there a monument to her industry (and miscalculation) to the present time." True it remains there to the present time, but not as a monument to her miscalculation, but rather to the historians' inaccuracy and over-straining to find mystical and remarkable things where they do not exist. The basket is made wider than the door, but not higher. The writer has often turned it on edge and carried it, as did hundreds before him, out of the room, and into any part of the house. So the basket fiction must be set down along with many other kindred imaginings of the chroniclers, as evidence of modern misconceptions, and not as monuments of the folly of these early pious people.

The Society, as early as 1745, had its own printing press, and at about the same time a paper-mill, a fulling-mill, a saw-mill, an oil-mill, a bookbindery, and a gristmill. The members worked in common and held all property in common. It was an ideal community of goods. Profits they did not desire, money they feared, and all excess of funds they freely gave away, holding that the rapid accumulation of wealth was not productive of good.

Ephrata became the second great centre of the German-American printing and book-making trade in America. It was equalled by none and surpassed only by the Sower press at Germantown.

Graveyard, Sisters' House and Meetinghouse at Ephrata.

The greatest book of Colonial America, Van Bragh't's *Blutige Schau-Platz*, the Mennonites' Martyr book, was published here in 1748.[1] The largest hymn books and many theosophical volumes appeared from time to time. In 1786 appeared the *Chronicon Ephratense* by Jacob Gass and Peter Miller.[2] This is a history of the Ephrata movement. From it much of the history of the Brethren can be traced; although the student of the *Chronicon* must remember that it is a biased and partisan presentation of the history of the Ephrata Society, and that it is by no means just to the Brethren, with whom, as this chapter shows, they were not in harmony. Much harm will result from surface-irritators of our history who do not go back of the *Chronicon* data for the real facts.

Here in Ephrata during the Revolutionary War, many soldiers were nursed into health, and on "Zion," a part of the grounds of the society, are buried many of the soldiers of the Continental Army. Here, too, when Howe was in possession of Philadelphia, the Continental money was printed. Peter Miller was, perhaps, the most learned linguist of Colonial America, and is reported to have translated the Declaration of Independence into seven European languages.

---

(1) For an account of this book see Walton and Brumbaugh's *Stories of Pennsylvania* p. 66; also Pennypacker's *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, p. 155.

(2) The identity of the authors is not clearly established. That Peter Miller was one is based on Morgan Edward's statement and on a private letter in the writer's possession from Daniel Letterman.

The writer has in his possession about fifty volumes from the old Ephrata press.

Music was taught at Ephrata by Beissel.[1] The entire sisterhood and many of the brothers engaged in the mastery of musical composition. They also became poets of less or more merit. Ephrata became famous for her music. People from Europe, coming to America, frequently wended their way to Ephrata to hear the unusual and unearthly music of these devotees. This notoriety, no doubt, was an added incentive to excellent results. But the main purpose was to sing in the flesh as they conceived the songs of heaven to be. All the pent up emotions that were allowed no human channel of expression swept into the rhythmic pulses of song.

"The Marvelous Playings of Paradise"[2] appeared in 1766. It contains 725 hymns, 441 by Beissel, 73 by the solitary brethren,[3] 111 by the brethren of the household, and 100 by the sisters. The last part has the fragmentary heading, *Ein Angenehmer Geruch der Lilien und Rosen.* Altogether thirty-five men and twenty-five women contributed hymns to this remarkable collection.

In 1754, a large volume, bearing the same title, was printed on writing paper; most of the space is left blank to be filled out by written notes. Provision is

(1) Beissel had learned to play the violin in Germany, but of harmony he knew nothing till taught by Lewis Blum during 1742 or 1743.

(2) *Paradisisches Wunderspiel*, p. 472. Copy in library of the writer.

(3) A few in this group are by Fr. Rock and G. Tersteegen.

House of Conrad Beissel at Ephrata.

made for choruses of four, six and even seven voices or parts. A fine copy of this rare volume beautifully embellished in black and green and gold, prepared by Sister Barbara Snowberger, is now in the library of the writer. Ephrata was the musical center of Colonial America. The development of seven-part harmonies has no counterpart in American musical activity in the last century.

Beissel ruled this society with an iron hand. He banished those who did not yield to his regime. He introduced many monastic customs including the tonsure and the garb of the Capuchin monks, and gave comfort to all sorts of symbolism in Biblical interpretation. The result was an increased departure from the plain Gospel tenets of the people with whom he was for a time identified.

He lived in a quaint house, erected midway between "Bethania" and "Saron."

At his death the Register records these words: "Vatter Friedsam did in the presence of his spiritual children, as he his farewell made quite gently and quietly, in the Lord fall asleep in the year 1768, the 6th July. His age was seventy-seven years, four months, and six days, in the eighth hour of the day after noon. What his doings and occupation of the spirit, and how much he suffered and labored for the Lord's sake, the time of his life, by day and night, he who his writings diligently reads and searches can find

in what kind of labor his life passed in the fifty-two years."[1]

Peter Miller preached the funeral sermon from Hebrews 13: 7 and 17, and remarks were made by John Reisman and Ludwig Hoecker. Miller succeeded Beissel as head of the Society. But with the passing of the spirit that dominated it, the society gradually dwindled away.

As early as 1748, Ludwig Hoecker, who had formerly been a member of the Brethren at Germantown, was made Schoolmaster of the Ephrata Society. He at once organized a Sabbath school, and maintained it fully thirty years before Robert Raikes founded his first Sunday school. For this school Hoecker had a house erected in 1749. The building was called "Succoth." This was without doubt the beginning of Sabbath schools, and had its inception in the "young people's Sunday afternoon meeting" of the German Baptist Brethren of Germantown. The Brethren may, therefore, justly claim to be the founders of Sunday schools. No sect ever devoted more care to the proper training of its children than did the early Brethren. That this pioneer activity should have been abandoned is as inexplicable as the reluctance with which a few still oppose Sunday schools on the ground that they are innovations. Were all the facts clearly known, it is fair to assert that Sunday schools, under the name

[1] For a full account of his last illness and death see Chapter XXXII *Chron. v. Ephratense.*

of Young People's Meetings date to the very inception of the Brethren church.

Peter Miller was in many respects a remarkable man. To him is due in large measure the credit of holding to moderation and consistency[1] in the society. His piety was proverbial. He came to Ephrata in 1735, and remained for sixty-one years. From 1768 to 1796 he was the Superintendent of the Society. His rule was moderate. His devotion to learning was phenomenal. He was chosen a member of the American Philosophical Society, April 8, 1768, and read before it a paper on the prosaic subject, "The best time to plant peas that they might be spared from the ravages of the insects." He was a mild-mannered man, and, in spite of his great learning he was not the equal of Beissel as leader of the mystic members of the Ephrata Society. With his death, decadence rapidly set in, and Ephrata to-day is merely the ghost of the activity of the eighteenth century.

Around one family of the Ephrata Society hangs the fringe of a romance more inspiriting than the dreams of poet or novelist. Michael Eckerlin was a Counsellor of Strasburg and a Catholic. Touched by the message of truth from the lips of some pious preacher on his way to Switzerland, Eckerlin resigned his office, left his church, fled with his wife and four sons to Schwarzenau, was baptized by Alexander Mack

(1) For a touching incident in his life see Walton and Brumbaugh's *Stories of Pennsylvania*, p. 70.

and triumphantly died in the faith. His widow and her children came to America in 1725, and settled near Germantown. One day Michael Wohlfahrt visited the family and spoke eloquently of the new awakening under Beissel in the Conestoga country. Conrad Matthäi, a former companion of the recluse Kelpius also commended the settlement on the Conestoga. The oldest son, Israel, in 1727, went to see for himself. He was pleased, and at first allied himself with the Mennonites. He was soon joined by his brothers, Samuel, Emanuel and Gabriel. Israel worked for Christopher Sower, and was by Sower taken to the meetings of Beissel. The result was that Israel and his master were baptized by Beissel on Whitsuntide, 1728. The entire family soon became prominent members of the Conestoga movement, and with Beissel removed to Ephrata in 1732. The pious old mother followed her sons and died in the Conestoga country, 1729. The four brothers were known in the Monastery as brothers Onesimus, Jephume, Jotham and Elimelech. Gabriel became the first Prior of the Monastery, but was succeeded in 1740 by Israel.

Israel was a hard task-master. The brethren groaned under his regime, but for conscience' sake dared not rebel. Israel was an exceptionally good business man, and under his management the mystical dreamers became a colony of toilers. He added to the equipment most of the mills and proposed purchasing all lands within a two-mile radius. The busi-

ness insight of Israel Eckerlin gradually won him the support of the members and the jealousy of Beissel. Finally an open rupture occurred. Beissel resigned the superintendency in a fit of anger, and for nine months Israel Eckerlin was the head and front of the Society. Eckerlin eventually wearied of this friction between himself and Beissel and in September, 1744, accompanied by his brother Samuel,[1] Alexander Mack, and Peter Miller, he made a journey to Rhode Island. Upon his return the old feud broke out afresh. At an election for Prior, Israel Eckerlin was named as his own successor. Beissel lost his self-control and declared that in that event he would resign as superintendent. His threat was taken in earnest. His resignation was accepted, Israel Eckerlin was made his successor.

Then began a reign of intrigue and of bitterness, Peter Miller and Gabriel Eckerlin secretly sided with Beissel, who gave them a written authority "to act when they thought it best to act." They took advantage of this to raise a rebellion against Israel. Finally at a council he was ordered to leave the monastery and live in the fulling-mill.

At this juncture Samuel took an active part in the discussion and urged Israel to leave Ephrata for good and all. On September 4, 1745, Israel Eckerlin, his brother Samuel, and young Alexander Mack solemnly

(1) Samuel Eckerlin was married. His wife died in 1733. Her death is the fifth recorded in the Register of the Ephrata Community.

journeyed to the western wilderness four hundred miles. Gabriel Eckerlin was appointed to the vacant Priorship, but did not long administer the office. He, too, was driven out and joined his brother in the forest west of the Alleghenies. The wanderers journeyed to the New River.[1] Mack soon had his full of this hermit life and gladly returned to Germantown. The three brothers erected a group of cabins, called the place "Mahanaim," and cleared the ground for a permanent settlement. Israel devoted his time to theology and mysticism, writing industriously; Samuel practiced medicine among the border settlers and the Indians; Gabriel became a hunter and trapper, to supply the household with needed food.

In 1750, Israel and Gabriel returned and spent five months in the Monastery. Dissension and bickering again broke out, and once more the brothers turned to the west; and alone in the dead of winter crossed the Allegheny mountains and arrived more dead than alive on the Monongahela river. Here Samuel joined them, and the Delaware Indians, in pity, gave them protection. At the outbreak of the French and Indian War the Indians warned them of their danger, and caused them to remove to Cheat river. On a branch of this stream called "Dunker's Run," in honor of these men, they erected for the third time a cabin home and hoped to live in safety. The Del-

[1] Now called the Great Kanawha in West Virginia.

awares finally, in 1757, warned them to leave and reluctantly withdrew their friendly protection.

Samuel was east of the mountains. Israel and Gabriel were surprised in their cabin by seven Mohawk Indians led by a Frenchman, captured, and taken prisoners to Fort DuQuesne.[1] The cabin was pillaged and burned. An Indian in ambush was left to shoot down Samuel on his return. When Samuel returned he found his home a charred ruin. Overcome by the awful tragedy that he feared had befallen his brothers he fell upon his knees clasped his hands in supplication to God, and in the bitterness of his agony burst into tears. The concealed Indian raised his gun to shoot. His eyes too were moist. He could not shoot. Silently he slunk away to rejoin his fellow braves and Samuel Eckerlin is left alone on his knees in prayer and tears! History has no record of his fate!

Israel and Gabriel were taken from Fort DuQuesne to Montreal by the French and given over to a Jesuit Convent as prisoners of war. From Montreal they were taken to Quebec, and finally with other prisoners they were carried across the Atlantic Ocean to France. Here as his end approached Gabriel was received into an order of monks of the Catholic church. He received his tonsure and was known as *Bon Chretien.* Soon after this both died.

(1) Some historians have asserted that all three were murdered by the Indians. Such, however, is not the case.

What a family tragedy! The father flees for conscience' sake to Schwarzenau. He gives his life for his faith. His widow crosses the Atlantic Ocean to find a grave. His sons run the round of religious fanaticism, Indian life, wilderness tragedy, and international strife. The remnant is carried back almost in sight of the ancestral home, and closes its days in an ecclesiastical order of the church from whose portals the pious father fled only one generation before! Let history name another equal family story or consent to the dictum, the Eckerlin family is without a parallel in the annals of the world.

CHAPTER XII.—Origin and Early History of Annual Meeting.

In the beginning the church had no representative body and no general conference. The congregational unit was maintained, and frequent visitations from one congregation to another preserved the spirit of unity. There is no evidence of a need for a general conference from the membership. But there is abundant evidence to prove that Annual Meeting was imposed upon the church by influences from without. Annual Meeting was created as a means of defense and as a means of edification. It is a distinct creation of a very remarkable movement among the German sects of Pennsylvania, known as the "Pennsylvania Synods of 1742."

On December 24,[1] 1741, Count Zinzendorf, the head of the Moravian church, arrived from Europe at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. At this time Zinzendorf had resigned[2] his bishopric in the Moravian church in order, as he declares in an address, delivered in Herrendyk, August 6, 1741, "that I might proclaim the message of the death and blood of Jesus, not with human ingenuity, but with divine power, unmindful of personal consequences to me. . . . I cannot with my testimony confine myself to *one* denomination;

(1) Dec. 13, old style.

(2) He laid down his episcopal office, June, 1741.

for *the whole earth is the Lord's, and all souls are His; I am a debtor to all.*" He believed, and rightly, that Pennsylvania had no ecclesiastical organizations, and that here he would not meet the organized opposition to be met with in Europe. Here he hoped to realize his ideal of "a Church of God in the Spirit."

When he landed in Pennsylvania he was surprised to find a great deal of mistrust and opposition. Some believed that he was an emissary in disguise of the papal court, and others had no mind to hear any message of a religious character whatever. He traveled through eastern Pennsylvania and was allowed to preach at only one place—Oley, Berks County, Pennsylvania. He was so disheartened that he wrote, "I traveled and prayed, and wept and bore witness, and sought for peace, and seek it still."(1) His declarations for a spiritual union did attract some notice, and Henry Antes, John Bechtel, Adam Gruber, Christopher Wenger, and others thought the time had come to lessen the envy, malice and slander displayed both in conversation and in public prints. They desired to conciliate the clashing views of the different denominations of Germans in Pennsylvania. These men frequently met at the house of John Bechtel in Germantown. They discussed at length plans for a union of all the German sects of the province and finally on December 26, 1741, a letter was sent by Heinrich

(1) Open letter to the Germans of Pennsylvania, February, 1742.

Antes and others to all the sects of the province whom they wished to unite, inviting them to a general synod to be held in Germantown, Jan. 12, 1742. (New Year's Day, old style.) Thus began the famous Pennsylvania Synods of 1742,—seven in all were held in the above year. The minutes were published by Benjamin Franklin. The first one bears the title:

"Authentische / Relation / von dem / Anlass, Fortgang und Schlusse / Der am 1sten und 2ten Januarii Anno 1742 / In Germantown gehaltenen / Versammlung / Einiger Arbeiter / Derer meisten Christlichen Religionen / und / Vieler vor sich selbst Gott-dienenden Christen-Menschen / in Pennsylvania; / Aufgesetzt / In Germantown am Abend des 2ten obigen Monats. / Philadelphia, / Gedruckt und zu haben bey B. Franklin. /"

The introductory remarks of this Synod will best show the motive and purpose in the minds of its projectors:

"Heinrich Antes and several other lovers of liberty in this country had desired many years ago that not so much evil should be spoken and written of their fellow beings without evidence, because by this means the cause is never furthered. The opportunity to do some good is always cut off beforehand. They only waited for the favorable time and hour, and now they thought the time had come. Because they not only noticed a desire among various people to know one another more accurately so as not to need to fear a shadow, but with greater certainty they desired to avoid what is harmful. They were even requested (by some) to take the matter in hand. Therefore, Heinrich Antes wrote letters to all and each representative and worker in the various organizations where he and

his friends desired greater friendship among one another in respect to the matters above stated.

"The good hand of God was with this little dove. It came like the latter, with an olive-leaf, and not one of those invited failed to come.

"On the first of January they met at Germantown, and as they assembled in the house of Theobard Endt, the meeting was opened with a prayer to the Lord. Care was taken that not only a magistrate should be present for the sake of civil order, but several men from every creed known in Pennsylvania that had a knowledge of the German language, so that whatever was done might be judged from the ground principles of every one. This aim was reached, too, and the members of this meeting were very much enlightened one by the other."

The number of members is nowhere recorded; "but more than fifty persons are named as taking an active part in these deliberations."(1)

The following, arranged by their denominational affiliations, seem to have taken the most active part in the discussions:

1. *Tunkers:* .....Joseph Miller, Andrew Fry, Abraham du Bois, George Adam Martin, John Peter Jacobs von Larschett (Lawshe) (Amwell, N. J.)
2. *Lutheran:*.....Conrad Weiser.
3. *German Reformed:*.Henry Antes, John Bechtel, John Leinbach.

(1) Reichel's *History of the Moravians*, p. 98.

4. *Mennonite:* .....John De Türk (Oley).
5. *Schwenkfelder:* ....C. Weigner.
6. *Siebentäger:* .....Prior Onesimus (Israel Eckerlin), John Hildebrand, Henry Kalklöser.
7. *Separatists:* .....J. A. Gruber, Theobald Endt, Conrad Matthäi.
8. *Hermit:* .....J. G. Stieffel.
9. *Moravians:* .....Count Zinzendorf, John Jacob Müller (Secretary of the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Synods), Bishop David Nitschmann, Andrew Eschenbach, Pyrlæus, Büttner, Rauch, and others.

In addition to the above were the following, whose denomination is not named:

Cornelius Weygand and Christopher Meng, from Germantown.
Adam Schaues, from Frederick Township (secretary of the 2nd Synod).
John Kooken, Worcester Township.
Christian Kintsy, John Bartley (Bartelet), Jacob Vetter, and John Herpein, from Oley.
G. Merckel, from Skippack.
Heinrich Hollstein, from Falckner's Swamp.
Christian Baus, from Skippack.

Zinzendorf declares that above one hundred persons attended these Synods. He further declares:[1] "I was neither the author nor adviser (*suasor*) of these

(1) *Naturelle Reflexionen*, pp. 194 *et seq.*

Synods, which were called by Pennsylvanians who had become tired of their own ways. What the object of these meetings may have been, I am not able to determine. I should almost think that every Deputy had his own instructions. I wished to make use of this opportunity to place on the throne (*inthronisiren*) the Lamb of God, as the real (*eigentliche*) Creator, Preserver, Redeemer and Sanctifier of the whole world, and at the same time to introduce in *theoria et praxi* the catholicity of His Passion as a universal theology for the Pennsylvania Germans."

It is to be noted that at the commencement of these Synods the Tunkers were deeply interested and many of them attended and took an active part in the discussions. Of the twenty-five named as leaders in the discussion, representing nine denominations or faiths, five were Tunkers and three others (*Siebentägers*) had been members before the unfortunate affair at Conestoga in 1728.[1] It will be seen from this that the Tunkers were not only largely concerned, but they were men of such influence and power in public address that they took a commanding part in these universal conferences.

The relation of these Synods to the Annual Meetings of the church of the Brethren is so important that I quote at length from the language of George Adam Martin, a minister in the Coventry Brethren congre-

(1) See page 299.

gation, and a prominent delegate at the Synods—especially the one at Oley:

"Count Zinzendorf and many of his Brethren came into the country and occasioned a great stir, especially by his conferences. And because all denominations were invited to them, I too was deputed by my Superintendent[1] to attend them. When I arrived at the conference, which was held at Oley, I found there some of our Baptists (Tunkers), Seventh Day men, Mennonites and Separatists.

"The Count himself was president, and for three days I heard queer and wonderful things there. After my return home I went to my Superintendent and said that I looked upon the Count's conferences as snares, for the purpose of bringing simple-minded and inexperienced converts back to infant baptism and churchgoing, and of erecting the old Babel again. We consulted with each other what to do, and agreed to get ahead of the danger, as some Baptists had already been smitten with this vain doctrine, and to hold a yearly conference, or as we called it, a Great Assembly, and fixed at once the time and place. This is the beginning and foundation of the Great Assemblies of the Baptists."[2]

This, then, is the beginning of our Annual Meeting. The dangers to be met were so present that the time agreed upon must have been soon after the Oley Synod, which was held in John de Türk's house on February 21–23, 1742. No doubt the time agreed

(1) Martin Urner, first Bishop at Coventry.

(2) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 245.

upon by Martin Urner and George Adam Martin, the originators of our Annual Meeting, was Whitsuntide of 1742. Where this meeting was held is nowhere recorded. But I am inclined to believe it was held at Coventry, perhaps in the house of Martin Urner, for it was in his house that the congregation usually worshiped.

What things did George Adam Martin hear and see at Oley, the result of which is our great annual gathering? The minutes of the Synods will best answer this question:

THE FIRST SYNOD.

"Heinrich Antes, who had distributed the circulars calling the Synod, laid a proposition before all that this meeting be called together for the purpose of seeing whether, with the Savior's blessing, it could not be brought about that either an end be made in the State of Pennsylvania, of all hostile judgments and opinions, story-telling, harming, evil slandering, or at least that this be made so contemptible that every honest man would be ashamed of it."

At the conclusion of this address a Separatist, likely Gruber, presented a written memorial against the strong assertions of a newly-arrived German teacher (Zinzendorf). To this Zinzendorf replied with a strong address in which he pointed out Christ and His meritorious suffering and death as the only source of our salvation.

It was apparent then that endless discussion would

arise. This was prevented by "a worker of the community of Ephrata." This worker doubtless was Prior Onesimus (Israel Eckerlin) whom Zinzendorf honored with a seat by his side.[1] Eckerlin deplored the waste of time that would result if all personal grievances and individual opinions were discussed at length. As a result of Eckerlin's remarks, it was agreed that a committee from all the different denominations should hear all questions and decide what ones should come before the Synod; and, further, that questions should be considered in the name of the congregation bringing the question and not in the name of the person aggrieved.

These two decisions evidently gave precedent for our Standing Committee and for our manner of sending queries to Annual Meeting.

The second day's sessions opened with prayer and the hymn, "Christ, Thou Lamb of God, Thou who bearest the world's sins, give us thy peace."

Then followed the discussion of the following queries:

QUERY I.—Is it not an adherence to the creature when we make fellowship, and is not this at least to be provided for?

Unanimous Reply.—We adhere to creatures from the inclinations of the flesh, or by reason of selfish interests or fear and this adherence belongs to the works of the flesh. But the adherence of the children of

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 149.

God should be as intimate as that between our God and His Son,—John 17: 14-23.

QUERY II.—How various is the community of the holy ones?

Unanimous Reply.—The community of God in the spirit is numberless and is found throughout the world.

QUERY III.—What reliance can there be with regard to such a unification in Pennsylvania?

Unanimous Reply.—If it were possible to agree on the main points, it were well to venture upon such an union in religion, where each household (congregation) should preserve its peculiar rights.

QUERY IV.—Is honor and respect due to every orderly organization?

Unanimous Reply.—All orderly organizations are established or supported or at least tolerated by God, else He would crush them Himself with the stone without hands, or confuse their language. Therefore the children of God are not only not called upon to storm well arranged organizations, or (what is worse) to destroy them in a stealthy and sneaky fashion; but they have a veneration in their feelings for all that have adjusted themselves in an orderly manner.

QUERY V.—How can it be brought about that without subduing the spirit, it should be possible to give good advice to one another, and, if it is wanted, to help one another honestly?

Unanimous Reply.—All differences of opinion, the lengthy answer declares, shall be submitted in writing at the next meeting of the Synod, "but whoever cannot abide his time, by reason of some pressing matters, is directed to the house of Heinrich Antes."

He, it appears, was to act as arbitrator of all such differences and answer to the next Synod for his decisions.

QUERY VI.—How is it to be ascertained whether those who are delegated to this council of brethren are of God?

Unanimous Reply.—The written testimony of each community within itself is sufficient, and as soon as such testimony has been examined no other inquiry shall be made.

QUERY VII.—What are the main points to which all must agree to enable us to be present at this council of Brethren?

Unanimous Reply.—We believe and unanimously confess that no one else could have saved us from eternal death, save our Lord and God, Jesus Christ alone, by His blood. We believe that He *must* die for the world; not that any one in heaven or in earth could have constrained Him to do it; but because there was no other means for us in heaven or in earth. His compassion for our misery constrained Him to it.

The Father, who loved His only-begotten Son, especially because the Son willed to sacrifice His life for the world, before there had yet been a world, had for this purpose given Him away from His arms. He has given Him for the whole world; and Jesus is, therefore, called not only the Savior of believers, and the atonement for their sins, but also for the sins of the whole world and the Savior of all men. . . .

Every one remaineth dead in sin, except he be called to life by Christ. Every one must be regenerated. But when and in what manner, is known only to the Lord. . . .

The pardoned sinner has the privilege or the right, henceforth not to sin any more, but to become holy; and, lest Satan again bewilder his senses, he must have his heart and mind guarded by the grace of the Lord, our God.

In conclusion all agreed to abstain in future from disputing about all plain Scripture. In order that all denominations might know exactly what was agreed upon, a careful minute was written down and confirmed by all present. For further confirmation nine delegates, one from each denomination of faith, signed the minutes from which the above queries and answers are extracted. The fourth signature is "Joseph Müller, from the Great Swamp." Joseph Müller was a member of the Tunker church.

It is well to note especially that this was an attempt to formulate a creed for all the churches present, and in so far as the declarations cover the faith of Christians, it must be remembered that the above queries represent the prevailing opinion of the Tunkers upon the questions at issue at the time of this synod; and, no doubt, the opinion of the church from its beginning.

THE SECOND SYNOD.

The second synod was held at the house of George Huebner, a Mennonite, in Falckner's Swamp, on January 25 and 26, 1742.[1]

(1) Jan. 14, 15, old style.

A preliminary meeting was held on the way at the Skippack, in order to open the way for a fuller delegation of Mennonites. At the opening session the discussions grew violent and it was found expedient to allow no question to come up which was not selected by lot. The manner of using the lot was as follows: The delegate desiring to submit a query stood before the entire synod. Two tickets were placed upon the table, upon one was written "aye," upon the other "nay." These words were placed on the under side of the tickets; and, if the delegate drew "nay," it was taken as a sign that it was not at this time expedient to consider his query. If the "aye" was drawn, the query was presented and an answer formulated.

Twenty-seven queries were presented and answered, the most important ones being as follows:

QUERY I.—Who may in the future attend this conference?

Unanimous Reply.—Delegates of all denominations; the ministers of all denominations; a few special persons, *e. g.*, Henry Antes, J. G. Stieffel, C. Weigner, Conrad Matthäi, John Bartley, and such others as may be invited by the conference hereafter; and the delegates whose names are attached to the proceedings of the first synod; a few special ones from the immediate community in which the synods are held.

QUERY IV.—What is the real object of our being together?

Unanimous Reply.—The proper object of this assem-

bly of all evangelical denominations is that a poor inquirer for the way of life may no longer be directed in a dozen different ways, but only in one; let him ask whom he will. But if any one should like to travel in exactly the path of him who directed him, he has full liberty to do so, provided the inquirer be as yet in no way connected with any religious society.

QUERY V.—How do we know when the Lord is with us in this conference?

Unanimous Reply.—We shall know the Lord is with us if harmony prevail and something is always accomplished. If at any time one or the other of these conditions does not prevail we will break off our proceedings, and seek again the peace of God.

QUERY XXI.—Is there no means to improve the training of children?

Unanimous Reply.—We shall help one another to train the children. To do this we will make use of the words in the Bible.

Among the signers of the minutes as above set forth appears the name of "Abraham du Bois," an elder of the Tunker church.

THE THIRD SYNOD.

The third synod was held February 21–23,[1] at Oley in Berks county, at the house of John de Türk, a Mennonite. It was at this synod that the Tunker preacher, George Adam Martin, was stirred to denounce these synods and to advocate a separate an-

(1) Feb. 10 12, old style.

nual meeting (Great Assembly) of the Tunkers alone.[1]

This was a remarkable synod. Zinzendorf proposed to read a letter from the Ephrata Society regarding baptism. A violent disturbance arose and a member from Ephrata cited the fifth query of the second synod.[2] This caused some embarrassment and a postponement of business for some time.

At this juncture a "Quaker woman-teacher" asked the synod permission to speak, and her proper request was granted. The minutes testify that "she spoke only true and reasonable words, and as we were all expecting comfort, she was to us a Hannah. She spoke of Him (Luke 4) who is at the same time Creator, Redeemer, Lord and Servant, as she said. We felt at peace during her short discourse; and when, with womanly humility and modesty, she left us, we were again in a condition to continue our proceedings."

Andrew Eschenbach was ordained to the undenominational church at Oley. This ordination was conducted by Bishop David Nitschmann, a Moravian. Christian Henry Rauch was also ordained a missionary to the Indians, also Gottlob Büttner and J. Christopher Pyrlæus; the latter, minister-elect to the Lutheran congregation in Philadelphia.

Then followed a proceeding that caused the

(1) See page 476.
(2) See page 484.

Tunkers present great concern. Christian Henry Rauch brought into the synod three converted Indians and asked permission to baptize them. These Indians preached all through the night preceding "the *merit of Jesus* with such force of spirit, and such lasting persistency that the wild men and the whites were astounded and we considered it unjustifiable to keep away any longer the water from them. Therefore, it was decided to baptize them in the name of the Lord."

The whole assembly repaired to a barn belonging to Mr. de Türk, and Rauch baptized them, calling Shabash, Abraham; Seim, Isaac; and Kiop, Jacob. This baptism was performed by sprinkling.(1)

Fearing that the spiritual union might be broken they proceeded to make it permanent by the following provision: The names of "fifty known and mostly present members" were written down. Thirty were drawn by lot. This drawing was done by a civil magistrate, because "a child could not be gotten to do it." From these thirty, John Bartley of Oley "lotted out" twenty; from these twenty, ten; from these ten, five: and from these five, three were chosen by the spirit of the whole meeting. The three finally selected in this remarkable way were Andreas Frey, a Tunker, Gottfried Haberecht, an Ephrataite, and Anthony Seiffert, a Moravian.

These men were known as the "Trustees of the

(1) Reichel's *Moravian History*, p. 105.

Church of God in the Spirit." It was their duty to select two worthy men from the children of God in this country, keep the selection a profound secret, and require these men, known only to the Trustees, to prevent as much as was in their power, this spiritual union from being dissolved. In case the two chosen should become known it was the duty of the Trustees to remove them, and appoint in their stead others who were not known. Just what was the result of this action can never be known. But that it did not accomplish much is evident from the fact that the Mennonites, Schwenkfelders and most of the Tunkers withdrew at the close of this third synod and were not at the subsequent sessions.

To add to the confusion Count Zinzendorf at a private meeting of the delegates, at the opening of the synod, expressed his opinion about the character of many persons, in which expression he was at times right, at others wrong. The result was division of feeling and diversity of opinion. This was followed by a complaint against Zinzendorf. There followed a violent debate and Zinzendorf was obliged to resign the chairmanship of the Conference. A Scotch-Irish brother, who could not speak in German, then took the meeting in charge and delivered a scathing address against the secret enemies of Jerusalem. Andrew Eschenbach was then elected chairman and the synod continued for three days.

But the end of possible union had come. The

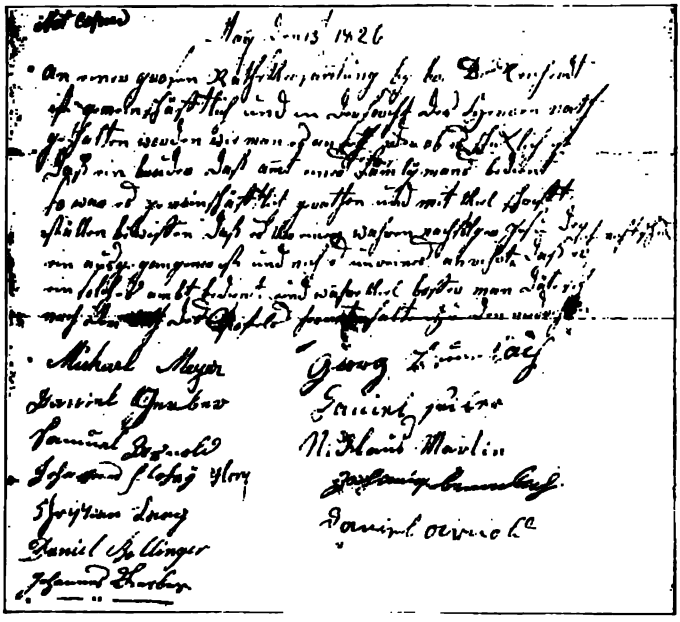
members of at least three faiths withdrew and the subsequent synods were mere echoes of the vigor prevailing in the first, second and third ones.

The immediate effect of this synod, particularly of the baptism by sprinkling and the involved arrangements for preventing disunion, "was that the Mennonites and Schwenkfelders withdrew altogether; the Tunkers arranged their own annual meetings which continue to this day; and the Siebentägers also refused to have any further connection with these synods."(1)

What could be more significant than the action of George Adam Martin and Martin Urner on this occasion? Anxious to preserve the Tunker faith and practice, and feeling convinced that sprinkling is not baptism, they withdraw from all alliance and call a great conference of the Tunkers to enforce the doctrines of the church and to educate the membership upon the Gospel ordinances. No doubt, the great theme of the first Annual Meeting was baptism, and the first general council of the Brotherhood was set for the defense of the Gospel. The Tunkers believed in and practiced trine immersion for believers. No other mode of baptism could to them be valid. With the courage of their conviction and a desire to stand for Gospel teaching they turned to their own people, assembled them, taught them, had a blessed meeting, and decided, in the fear of the Lord, to assemble

(1) Reichel's *Moravian History*, p. 136.

annually in a great school in which the leaders taught to all the members the ordinances as the church had



Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1726.(1)

(1) May 13, 1821. During a great meeting at the house of Brother Daniel Reichardt it has been taken council how in the fear of the Lord it is regarded, and if it is proper, that a brother should serve in the office of an Assemblyman, and it was generally decided and with many texts proven that it is not fit for a true follower of Christ, who is a "gone-out one" and touches nothing unclean, that he should fill such an office; and it would be better to do according to the counsel of the Apostle and cling to humility.

MICHAEL MEYER,	JOHANNES GERBER,
DANIEL GERBER,	GEORG BRUMBAUGH,
SAMUEL ARNOLD,	DANIEL SEILER,
JOHANNES FLORY,	NICHOLAS MARTIN,
CHRISTIAN LONG,	JOHANNES BRUMBAUGH,
DANIEL BOLLINGER,	DANIEL ARNOLD.

always practiced them, and as they found them in the only creed they knew—the words of Jesus and his followers.

Notwithstanding the early date, 1742, of the beginning of Annual Meeting, the first meeting of which we have a record is 1778.[1] For all the years from 1742 to 1778 no minutes are known.

Our published minutes are by no means complete. Many meetings after 1778 are omitted,[2] the place of meeting prior to 1837 is frequently unknown and the names of delegates to the early meetings, with few exceptions, are not on record. I have been fortunate enough to secure the minutes of Annual Meeting for 1826.

This was an important meeting, and is an added link in the chain of rulings against office-holding by members of the Tunker church.

After 1830 the minutes are complete, and after 1832 it was agreed that Annual Meeting should convene on Pentecost with public meeting and love feast. Business session was to begin the following day.[3] In 1848 two meetings were held, the second one in Carroll county, Indiana, September 24, 25.

The following list will be found more complete than the one in *Classified Minutes*, p. 398. The additions are in italics.

(1) *Minutes of the Annual Meeting*. Dayton, Ohio, 1876.
(2) See list, *Classified Minutes*, p. 398.
(3) See *Minutes of Annual Meeting*, p. 70.

ANNUAL MEETING.—Where Held Before 1830.

*1742, Coventry (?) Pa.
*1743-75, ———.
1777, Conestoga, Pa.
1778, Pipe Creek, Md.
1779, Conestoga Pa.
*1780, Conestoga, Pa.
1781, Conestoga, Pa.
1782, ———
1783, ———
*1784, ———
1785, Big Conestoga, Pa.
*1786, ———
*1787, Pipe Creek, Md.
1788, ———
1789, Great Conewago, Pa.
1790, Coventry, Pa.
†1791, Germantown (?) Pa.
*1792, ———
1793,
1794, Shenandoah, Va., (Oct. 30.)
*1795, ———
*1796, ———
1797, Black Water, Va. (Autumn).
1798, Little Conewago, Pa.
1799, Pipe Creek, Md.
1800, ———
*1801, ———
*1802, ———
1803,
1804, Pipe Creek, Md.
1805, ———
*1806, ———
*1807, ———
*1808, ———
*1809, ———
1810, Antietam Meetinghouse.
*1811, ———
1812, ———
1813, Coventry, Pa.
1814, Pipe Creek, Md.
1815, White Oak, Pa.
*1816, ———
1817, ———
1818, ———
1819, Great Conewago, Pa.
1820, Conestoga, Pa.
1821, ———
1822, Near Canton, Ohio.
*1823, ———
*1824, ———
1825, Morrison's Cove, Pa.
†1826, Dan'l Reichard's, Washington Co., Md.
1827, Dan'l Shoemaker's, Lancaster Co., Pa.
1828, Bro. Gungle's, York Co., Pa.
1829, George Royer's, Antietam.
‡1830, Pipe Creek, Md.

In addition to the published minutes of Annual Meeting of 1815, as recorded in *Minutes of Annual*

*No minutes.

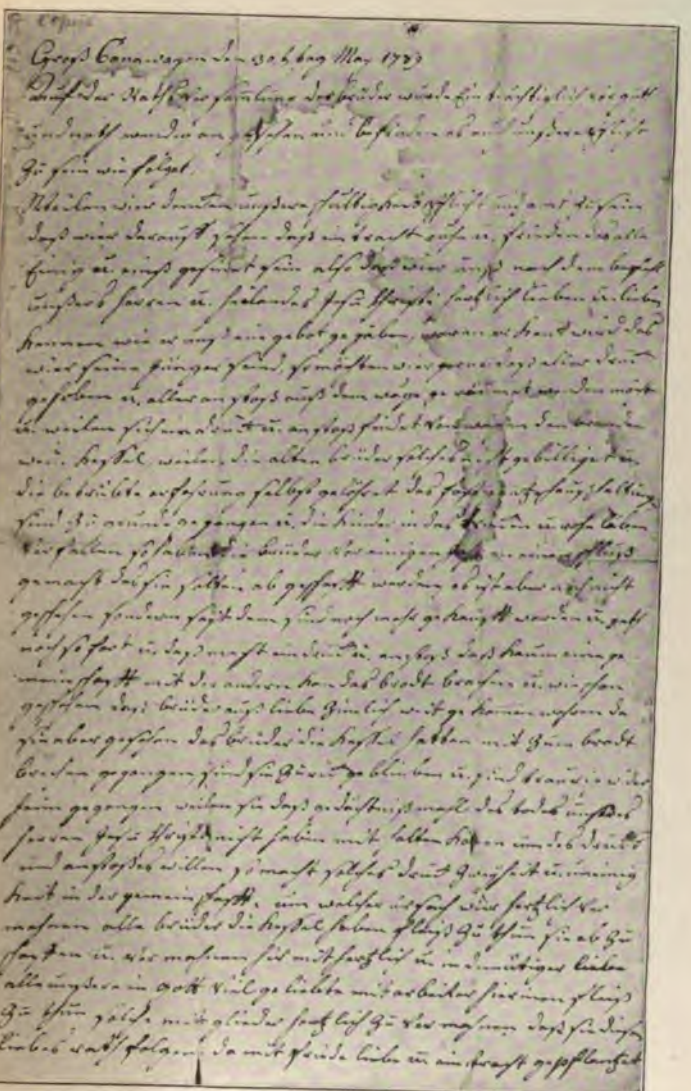
†Minutes supplied in this volume.

‡From 1831 to 1836, place not known; for place each year thereafter see *Classified Minutes*, p. 398.

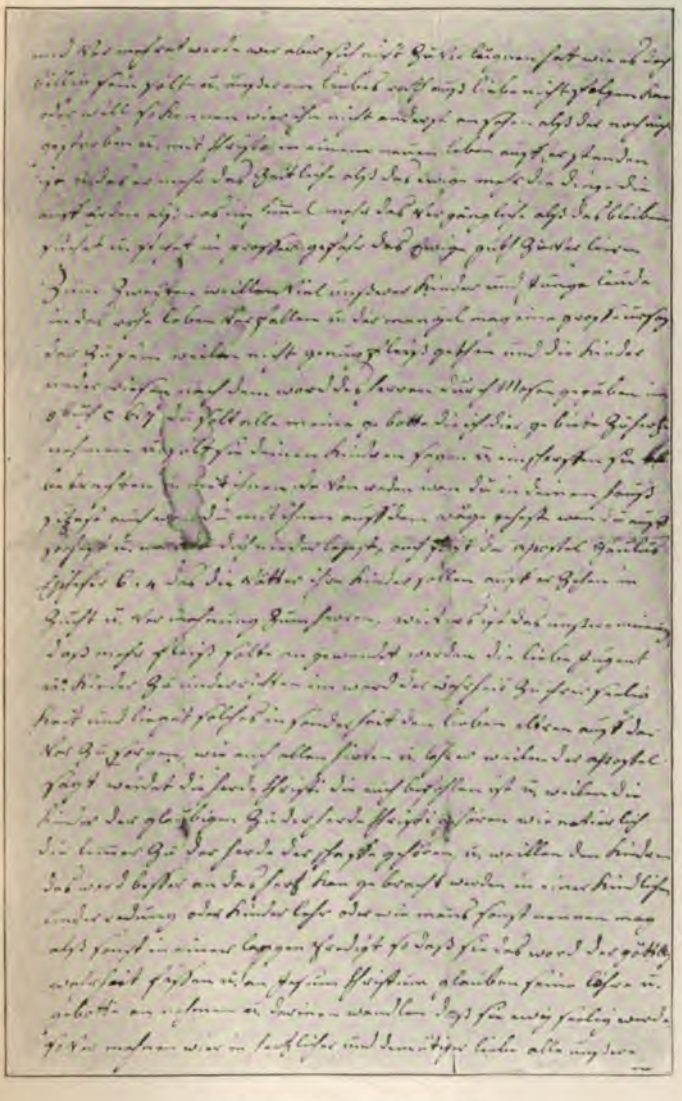
Councils, pp. 49–52, there should be added the following:

"2nd, It has been discussed by us concerning the war matter, and it is agreed by all the brethren that if a brother or brother's sons who consider themselves according to the teaching of the brethren "defenseless" and prove themselves to be such and wish to obey the teachings of the Brethren—when these shall be hard oppressed with the payment of fines they shall be assisted by the brethren according to the teaching of the apostle—let one bear the burden of another, thus you will fulfill the law of Jesus Christ."

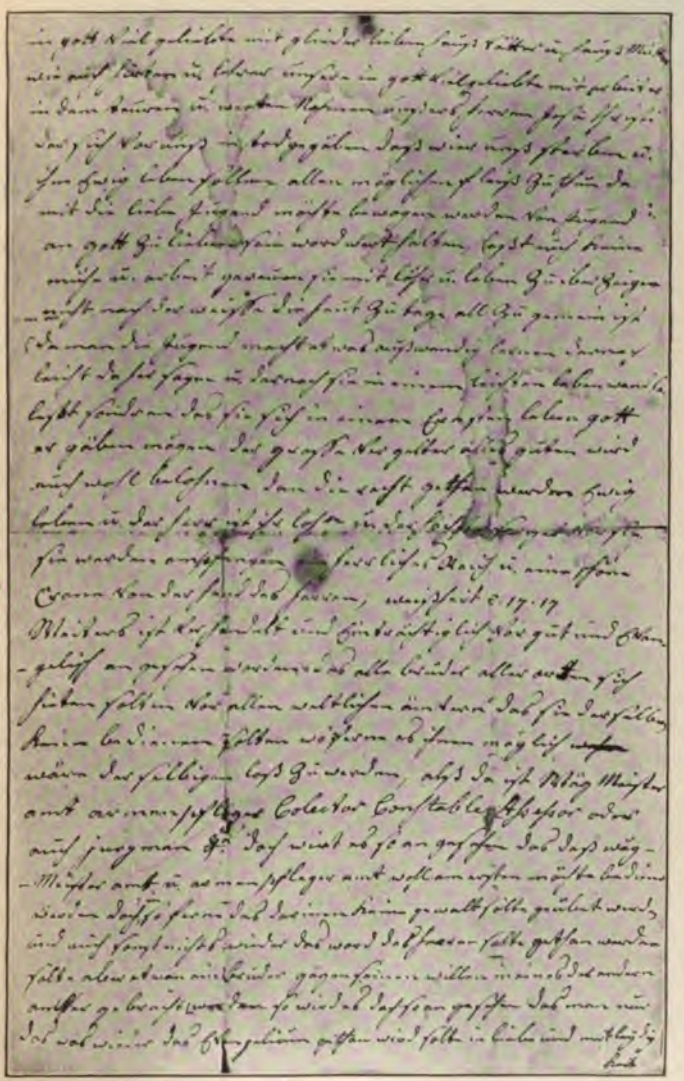
The significance of this resolution is apparent. The Brethren had, during the Revolutionary War, suffered greatly because of their non-resistance. In the Revolutionary War the peace principles of the Tunkers were regarded by the enemies of the church as a pretense for loyalty to the King of England and hostility to the new government. The charge was, of course, utterly false. The church has in every emergency steadfastly adhered to its primitive faith. This will be especially apparent from what follows. The minutes as published after 1790 do not again refer to war until the year 1845 (Mexican War) and 1864 (Civil War). In this interval the second War for Independence was fought (1812–1815). In 1814 the British had invaded Maryland, bombarded Baltimore, burned the public buildings at the National Capital, and forced the President and his Cabinet to flee to the woods for safety.



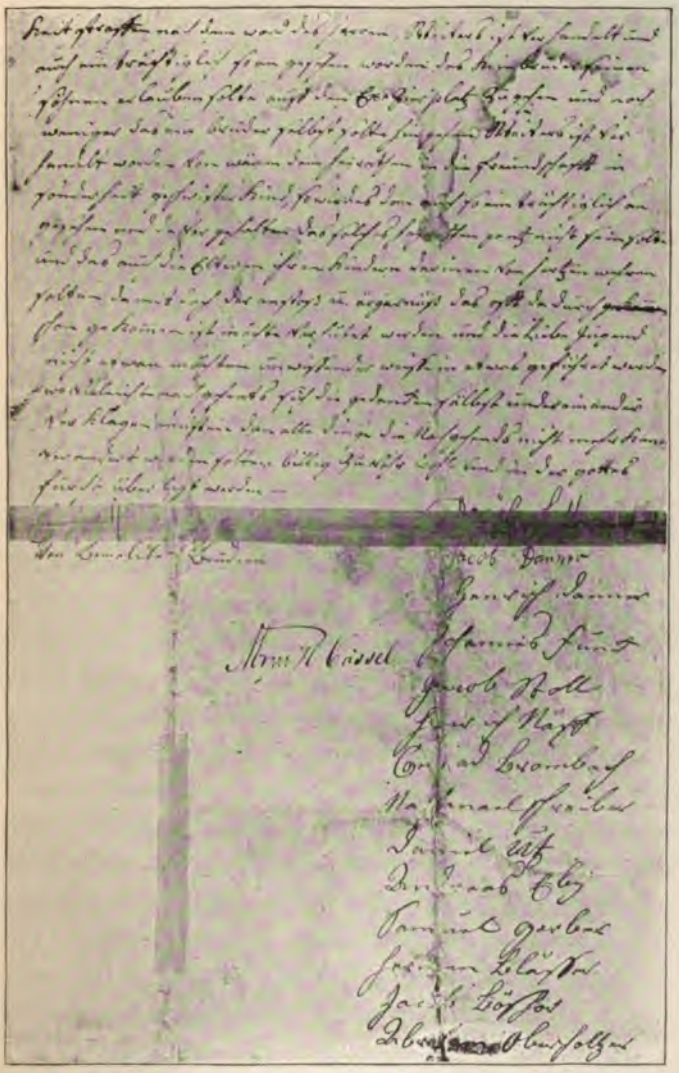
Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1789.



Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1789.



Minutes of Annual Meeting. 1780.



Minutes of Annual Meeting, 1789.

This flight and all its attendant excitement was in the territory most densely populated by the Tunkers. It is refreshing and comforting to know that in this trying hour, when the peace principle was put to the crucial test, the Annual Conference of 1815 met and calmly and heroically reaffirmed the doctrine so dear to the church from the beginning.

It is greatly to be regretted that the names of the delegates signing the early minutes have not in all cases been preserved. Before 1837, only three Standing Committees are named,—those of 1785, at Big Conestoga Meeting; 1790, on the Schuylkill (Coventry church, and not Schuylkill County, Pa., as given in *Classified Minutes;* p. 398); 1799, at Pipe Creek, Md. The names of these committees are important. They may be the means of tracing genealogies; and they do enable the members to-day to know the leaders of the early days. I have no doubt that the first meeting, 1742, was attended by many men who received baptism at the hands of Alexander Mack, and that it was presided over by Martin Urner, who called it, and whose sterling qualities of head and heart made him one of the noblest leaders in the early church. The following names are added in the hope that it may be the commencement of a search which shall in the end give us the complete list of Standing Committees from the beginning:

1789—Daniel Letterman, Martin Urner, Jacob Danner, Heinrich Danner, Johannis Funk, Jacob Stoll,

Heinrich Näff, Conrad Brumbach, Nathaniel Schreiber, Daniel Utz, Andreas Eby, Samuel Gerber, Herman Blässer, Jacob Läschet, Abraham Overholtzer.

1810—Heinrich Danner, Wilhelm Staber, David Long, Martin Gerber, Johannes ———, Peter Keyser, Nicholas Martin, Herman Blässer, Christian Long, Mathias Schneider, Jacob Künsel, Christian Hüber, Georg Prize, Daniel Staber.

1814—Samuel Gerber, Benjamin Bauman, Georg Prize, Daniel Staber, Nicholas Martin, Jacob Beshor, Samuel Arnold, Martin Gerber, David Pfantz, Johannis Eby, Christian Long, Johannis Schleifer, David Long, Daniel Gerber, Michael Etter, Heinrich Göbel, Herman Blässer, Georg Petry, Daniel Arnold, David Ulbach, Johannis Diel, Jacob Schönfield, John Prize, Isaac Long.

1815—Johannes Zug (?), Georg Prize, Samuel Gerber, Jacob Stoll, Herman Blässer, Nicholas Martin, Daniel Stober, Georg Petry, Daniel Gerber, Benjamin Buschou (?), Michael Schlothauer, Valentine Balschbach, John Prize, Johannis Eby, Andreas Mayer.

1819—Daniel Nober, Christian Long, Jacob Mohler, Benjamin Bauman, Samuel Arnold, Daniel Gerber, Daniel Seiler, Johannis Glück, Abraham Gerber, Johannis Gerber, Michael Pfantz, David Englar, Jacob Prize, Johannes Staufer, Benjamin Eby, John Trümmer, Heinrich Lescher, Peter Aschenbach, Heinrich Etter, David Vogelsanger, Jacob Hallinger, Friedrich Klein, Daniel Jund, Philip Englar, Daniel Reichardt.

1826—Michael Meyer, Daniel Gerber, Samuel Arnold,

Johannes Flory, Christian Long, Daniel Bollinger, Johannes Gerber, George Brumbaugh, Daniel Seiler, Nicholas Martin, Daniel Arnold, Johannes Brumbaugh.

In a letter dated at Creyfelt in Germantown, March 11, 1775,[1] Elder Alexander Mack writes to Elder John Price on the Skippack as follows:

"In Jesus the lover of our true life! Heart's much beloved brother, I have duly received thy dear little letter, but I cannot know yet if I shall be able to come to the next Great Meeting. I have been speaking to Brother Christopher Sower, to ask if he meant to go. He then had no mind to go, but if I should succeed to persuade him I would gladly stay home myself this time, according to the body, but according to the spirit I would be there in heart-felt love and well-wishing. But if it should happen that he insists on his refusal to go, and if it should be convenient for me to go, I would first like to have his own and the Brethren's consent before starting on the journey. . . ."

This letter shows that an Annual Meeting was held in 1775 at some point remote from Germantown. Brother Price desired company on the long journey and the reply shows under what conditions Brother Mack was willing to go. That he offers to stay at home "this time" is evidence of his frequent attendance prior to 1775; and his Christian spirit in yielding to Brother Sower is a noble example of Christian love.

(1) Original MS. in Cassel Library, now the property of the writer.

Brother Daniel Letterman, whose home was at the "Sand Hills" in Frederick County, Maryland, under date, Aug. 26, 1787, writes Brother Alexander Mack as follows:

"The sweet love of Jesus flow into our hearts, greet and embrace itself in them.

"My in God heartily and much beloved brother Alexander Mack.

"I cannot refrain from sending you word that I have received your dear letter to-day, and I am rejoiced that the Lord has led you back in good health from the Great Meeting to your dear ones, and that you have found them likewise well.[1] . . ."

COMMITTEES.

The earliest record of a committee (see *Classified Minutes*, p. 388) is 1849. Alexander Mack has left a manuscript[2] in which a record is made of a Committee that visited the Germantown church in 1791:

"On the 11th of June of this year, 1791, a large meeting took place in Germantown, where many brethren from near and far came together; several elders from other congregations were also present.

"A question was brought up by the brethren of the Germantown congregation to the assembled brethren coming from other places. The good purpose of this question consisted principally in this—How we could here in Germantown resist by a joint effort the very injurious evil which by the conformation to the world

(1) Original MS. in Cassel Library, now the property of the writer.

(2) Original MS. in Cassel Library, now the property of the writer.

is worked upon the minds of the young, as we are living so near to the capital of the country.[1]

"After careful deliberation the visiting brethren gave us, in the fear of the Lord, an advice to which they signed their names. We Germantown brethren also have signed in the name of the entire congregation, to bear witness that we have received their advice in submissive love and are willing to submit to the same loving advice, in the fear of the Lord, as the written testimony reports in detail, which is preserved in Germantown.

"On that same evening we broke the bread in the congregation at the Lord's supper which was specially appointed for the purpose, and have thus bound ourselves all together in love and faithfulness."

This committee was not sent, it was invited. The Germantown congregation, feeling the need of help in maintaining the doctrines and practices of the church, invited this large committee to attend and aid the home officers in the government of the church. These Germantown brethren here set an example that is well worth serious and prayerful consideration.

A careful study of the early history of the Annual Conferences presents interesting problems. In the first place the Annual Conference was not the expression of a need from within the church. Each congregation managed its own affairs, calling in from time to time such aid as was considered necessary to maintain the integrity of the congregation.

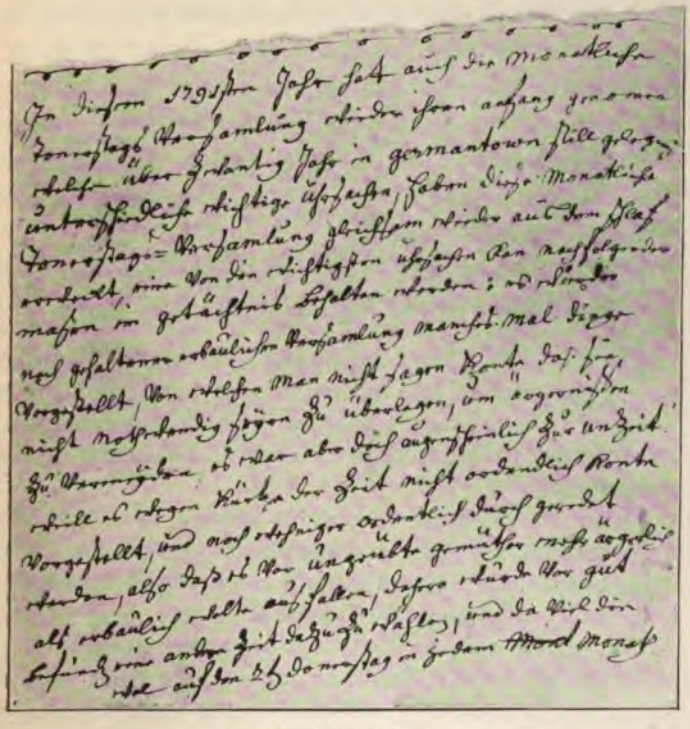
(1) The capital of the United States was then at Philadelphia.

Again it is important to note that its original function was positive and not negative. Its mission was to defend doctrine by constructive processes, by clearly and fearlessly defining the faith of the members, and not by proscribing and limiting the activity of the several congregations. Its function was to formulate a system of doctrines and establish a series of principles for the guidance and protection of the church of God. It was not an assembly that primarily reviewed activities already completed; but rather a meeting in which, by wise foresight, in the fear of the Lord, it endeavored to mould and shape the polity of future activity in harmony with the Word as it was read and understood by the early church. For this reason the Annual Meeting was a great comfort and power and through it the combined wisdom of the church announced from year to year the watchwords for the camp of Israel, the principles of the people of God.

COUNCIL MEETING.

To any one familiar with the Tunker church the prominence of the council meeting need not be discussed. What is usually done by officers of other congregations — the whole business side of the church's activity—is done in the general church councils. These meetings, usually held monthly, in each congregation are not unlike the monthly meetings of the Friends or Quakers, and took their rise no doubt from the practice of the Friends. They are the most

democratic meetings held by the church. Every member is not only welcome but urged to be present. Every member has unlimited privileges here to present all questions which may be regarded of value



Record of Monthly Council.

to the members. The whole negative administration of the church is here conducted and every member may discuss at length the rulings of the officers in charge as well as the business presented. Here, too,

with telling effect, the church agrees upon its plans of active Gospel work. The council meeting is a blessed necessity. Its origin dates perhaps with the organization of the church. Business meetings were held as soon as the Germantown church was organized in 1723, and have been conducted ever since. In many of the early congregations these meetings were held at the close of the public services on the Lord's Day. But Germantown, the mother church in America, seems to have held her council meetings upon some Thursday of each month.

It is of interest in this connection to note the following, from the pen of Alexander Mack:

"In this 1791st year the monthly Thursday meeting was resumed. It had been omitted in Germantown for over twenty years. Various important causes have contributed to cause this meeting to awaken from its long sleep.

"One of the most important causes can here be recorded for the future: It often happened after the religious meeting that things were brought up which one could not call unfit for consideration, in order to avoid giving offense; yet it was apparent that the occasion was not suitable as for lack of time things could not be properly presented, much less sufficiently discussed, so that for untried minds the effect was more injurious than edifying.

"It was, therefore, agreed to choose some other time for this meeting, and so the choice fell upon the second Thursday in each month."(1)

(1) Original MS. in Cassel Library, now the property of the writer.

CHAPTER XIII. — On the Doctrine and Growth of the Church.

1. The Philadelphia Church and Elder Peter Keyser.

In 1813 the church of the Brethren was organized in Philadelphia with Elder Peter Keyser in charge. Meetings were held for four years in a schoolhouse at the northwest corner of Fourth and Vine Streets. March 19, 1817, the congregation decided to erect a meetinghouse. They purchased for four thousand, two hundred and fifty dollars a lot on Crown Street, below Callowhill, from Jesse Stellwagen. The lot fronted forty-five feet on Crown Street and extended back eighty-six feet to Fourth Street. The committee in charge of the erection of the house of worship was James Lynd, George Gorgas, Jacob Zeigler, James Gorgas, and John Rink.

The building was ready for worship and dedicated on Sunday, October 12, 1817. Elder Keyser preached three sermons on that day, from Hebrews 9: 1–5; Luke 19: 46; and Acts 26: 22, 23. The meetings were largely attended. On March 5, 1818, Elder Keyser presented to the congregation a beautiful pulpit Bible.

The first accessions to the new congregation were Christian Flower and Catharine Evans. They were baptized on Easter day, April 6, 1817, by Peter Keyser. The church has passed through many vicissi-

tudes and at last seems on a firm and prosperous basis. The new meetinghouse at Dauphin and Carlisle Streets is an admirable building. T. T. Myers is the minister in charge. This congregation maintained a mission at Lehigh Avenue and Twenty-sixth Streets for a number of years, and on November 27, 1898, a fine new meetinghouse was dedicated. The writer preached the dedicatory sermon from Psalm 122: 1. This is known as the Geiger Memorial Church, in grateful recognition of the unselfish devotion to the cause of the Lord of Sister Mary S. Geiger, who, in addition to numberless other benefactions, purchased the ground and erected this place of worship and an adjoining parsonage at her own expense, and presented it entire to the congregation. The Lord bless her richly as she has blessed His people richly.

Elder Peter Keyser deserves more than a passing notice. He is descended from a noted Mennonite family. His father, the first of the name to join the Brethren, was baptized by Elder Mack, October 5, 1769. He was a tanner by occupation and his son Peter learned the trade with his father. The young man was born November 9, 1766, and was baptized by Elder Martin Urner, September 25, 1784.

He possessed unusual aptitude for learning, and at an early age could repeat much of the Bible from memory. The power to do this was early recognized and acted as a stimulus to do more. As he stood at the hopper of his father's bark mill he fastened the Bible to a shelf above the hopper. Thus in his daily toil he memorized almost the entire Bible.

He was called to the ministry in 1785, and ordained elder, August 2, 1802, and died May 21, 1849, in the house in which he had been born.

The remark was once made by the Rev. Dr. Philip F. Mayer that, if by some accident, every copy of the Scriptures should be destroyed, it could be restored so long as Peter Keyser lived.

He was an unusually tall man, being six feet and three inches. In addition to his marvelous memory he was eloquent. He drew large audiences and was regarded as one of the great preachers of his time.

He was blind for many years. This did not prevent him from regularly and acceptably preaching. His custom was to name a chapter, and repeat it *verbatim*, and then preach an eloquent discourse. When others in reading the Bible made mistakes he would at once correct them. He was for some years a wholesale lumber merchant in Philadelphia, and in his extensive business he never sued and never was sued. Elder Keyser was a useful citizen, serving as Secretary of the Board of Health, Secretary and Treasurer of the

Society for the Alleviation of the Miseries of Public Prisons, and School Director.

2. Elder George Miller.

Elder George Miller was a unique character. He frequently set out on Saturday staff in hand and walked fifteen miles to the place of meeting. Next day, after preaching he would walk home again without waiting to eat his dinner. He was a farmer and a weaver. He usually, in council meetings, allowed all others first to speak. He then gave a final statement of the case and usually had the satisfaction of seeing his judgment prevail.

On one occasion a man stole an ox from him. Elder Miller knew who was guilty. But he did not, on account of his religious principles, have the man arrested. Neighbors, however, lodged information against the man and had him sent to jail in Lancaster. It was in the dead of winter, and Elder Miller, fearing the man had no bed in the jail, walked to Lancaster, twenty miles, and offered to provide a bed for the thief! He died in September, 1798, aged seventy-six years and nine months, and is buried on the farm on which he lived, near the old road which leads from Hummelstown to Elizabethtown.

3. Churches in Maryland and the South.

The Antietam church was organized in 1752. William Stover was the first elder. His parents were

not members. He was born about 1725 and died in 1795. He was assisted in the ministry for some time by George Adam Martin and was succeeded by his son Daniel Stover who died October, 1822. This church extended over a large territory and was a midway point for emigration from Eastern Pennsylvania to Virginia and the West. This church was located in the famous Conococheague country. It was the scene of many Indian depredations during the French and Indian Wars and during the Revolution. The early members suffered greatly, and some were ruthlessly murdered. There was no meetinghouse for the congregation until 1798, when Price's church was erected. This congregation has had four Annual Meetings within its borders, 1810, 1829, 1847 and 1866, and has been from the first a marvelously energetic and active body of workers in the Lord's cause.

4. Early Meetings in Baltimore.

In a letter to his sister Catharine Harley, Samuel Sower, writing from Baltimore City, November 10, 1813, says, "It surprises me not a little that the few Dunker families have grown to such numbers. They seem to be in great earnest, for they have started prayer meetings in private houses. They are devising means for getting an English preacher of their own faith. I do not believe it would be a difficult matter for them to supply the means for his support." From this it is evident that prayer meetings were common in

the early church and that a supported ministry was regarded with favor for the city work.

5. Germantown Love Feasts.

The congregation at Germantown held love feasts at irregular dates. From Elder Sander Mack's Diary I learn that a love feast was held on August 2, 1792, after having been discontinued (lain still) for fourteen months and six days.

December 19, 1793, "The Lord has again granted us a blessed love feast after having been discontinued for fifteen months, seventeen days."[1] At this meeting eight recently baptized ones communed for the first time.

The next love feast was held on the 9th of October, 1794, and "Beti Dünkel was with us for the first time."

December 24, 1795, "Again the bread of Communion was broken at the Lord's Supper in Germantown after fourteen months and fifteen days had elapsed." The next love feast was held on January 12, 1797.

This was followed in the same year, December 28, by another blessed Communion at which "the young Brother Haas and the young Brother William Young were for the first time, as they were baptized in this year."

March 21, 1799, "Again a love feast and bread-

(1) This record is found on p. 266 of Elder Alexander Mack's MS. Diary.

breaking was held in Germantown after having rested a whole year, two months and twenty days."

In 1800 (in September), "again was held the Lord's Supper in blessedness the week after three persons were baptized. The holy bread-breaking had rested eighteen months in the Brotherhood of the Taufers at Germantown."

The 19th of November, 1801, "the Lord's Supper was held in the Taufer Brotherhood at Germantown where the bread of the Lord as a remembrance and a message of the death of Jesus Christ was broken in Communion, after having rested for one year, one month and fifteen days."

This is the last Communion attended by Elder Mack. The phrases characterizing the service are significant.

6. Change in the Lord's Supper.

As early as 1820, David Sower in a letter to his sister, Catharine Harley, says, "Forty years ago if any of the church had dared to make the changes which Elders Keyser and Price have made what would old brother George Schneider have said? If instead of a hearty dish of soup and a good slice of meat, only bread and coffee had been placed before them [at the Lord's Supper] how would Sisters Annie Schreiber and Susannah Weber have scratched their heads in wonder."

7. *Peter Leibert.*

Peter, son of Michael Leibert, was born October 20, 1727. Early in life he was apprenticed to Christopher Sower and learned the art of printing. He remained with Sower and his son until 1777, when Sower's press and property were seized and sold. Peter Leibert and

John Dunlop purchased most of the printing material at the Sower sale, and in 1784, established, in connection with Michael Billmeyer, a printing establishment in Germantown, which may be considered a revival of the Sower press. Billmeyer was Leibert's son-in-law. Peter Leibert was a brother-in-law to Alexander Mack, having married Mary Nice, December 7, 1749.

In 1788 he became sole owner of the press and in 1791 his son, William, became a partner. In this year, 1791, they issued the first English hymn book of the Brethren. The full title is "The Christian Duty exhibited in a Series of Hymns collected from various Authors. Designed for the worship of God and for the edification of Christians. Recommended to the serious of all Denomihations by the Baptists of Germantown." It was a neat 12mo. of three hundred

Grave of Peter Leibert.

and twenty pages, and was the first hymn book issued by the Brethren.[1] Prior to this the German *Psalterspiel* was used.

Peter Leibert was a good writer and a successful preacher of the Brethren, and with the Sowers maintained an almost uninterrupted leadership in German printing from 1739 to 1796. This is a record of the early church for which the Brotherhood may well be grateful.

Peter Leibert died June 9, 1812, and is buried in the Brethren burying ground at Germantown.

8. Two Unknown Volumes.[2]

"A Choice Selection of Hymns for the Glory of Christ," is the title of a volume published in 1814, at Mathetchy, Pa., by Abraham Krupp, who was a member of the Brethren church.

There is in the Cassel collection an unfinished volume. It is a part of Mack's *Rites and Ordinances.* The volume was being translated into English by Henry Schlingluff, a deacon of the Germantown church. The book ends abruptly and has written after the last printed lines these words: "This book was a printing last year till about the fifth part thereof and a friend of mine stopped the press." The printed parts were thrown away as waste paper. One copy only was preserved by Henry Schlingluff. That copy

(1) Copy in the library of the writer.

(2) Copies of these rare volumes are now in the library of Juniata College.

Abraham H. Cassel found in Peter Leibert's bookbindery. Why the press was stopped is not known. The book was afterwards issued (1811) by John Binns, printer and later Mayor of Philadelphia.

9. *Catharine Hummer.*

No other woman in the colonial church created such a stir as Catharine Hummer. She was a woman of high spirit and intense emotional activity. In her zeal to advance the cause of the church she traveled with her father, who was a much-loved minister of the Brotherhood, and sang and spoke to many congregations. In York County the excitement was especially great. People came fully sixty miles to see and to hear this remarkable woman. The secret of her power lay in the fact that she had at stated times ecstatic visions.

The first vision occurred on the night of October 3, 1762. Three times [1] she was called to the door by distinct knockings. The third time she answered the knock she saw an angel standing at the door. The angel informed her that love had grown cold among the Brethren. Then the angel prayed and sang with her. The effect in her words was, "After this I lay in a trance for the greater part of seven days and seven nights, so that my spirit was separated from my body." In this trance she saw heaven and angels and was permitted to commune with them. From that

(1) This account is abridged from her own confessions.

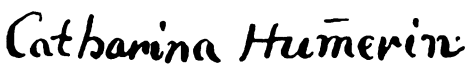
time she at will could translate herself in spirit into eternity, where she could see, hear and touch the divine wonders.

In the year 1762, November 12, she had another remarkable vision. She saw all the prophets and apostles. She also saw the five chosen ones—God, Jesus, Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, standing and welcoming all faithful and baptized ones. Those not baptized had to tarry at the water which divides the earthly from the eternal realm until they had repented anew. This idea of repentance after death was an outgrowth of the doctrine of universal restoration to which many of the early members were committed. She saw, moreover, a man who had died and who came to the water. He was told he would have to be baptized before he could cross. He answered that he had been baptized in his infancy and had always thought that immersion was not so essential. Then he heard the words, "Jesus too was circumcised on the eighth day, and nevertheless was also baptized in his thirtieth year; therefore you will have to follow, and so he did." The vision is a lengthy one. It is taken up, in her narrative, with the entire question of baptism. In it she claims that God and Jesus insist upon trine immersion for adults only as legal baptism.

The third vision came to her December 6, 1762. It was a pæan of praise sung by an angel in contemplating the soon-to-be-attained rest of the saints in heaven.

On December 13, of the same year, a fourth vision was had which was much like the third. People thronged her meetings to gaze upon this phenomenal person. Upon some the influence of her recital of these visions was so great that they affirmed they heard most charming hymns sung by the angels in the air. When she married, it is said, she ceased to have these ecstatic experiences. Just how much credence one can place in such experiences it is not difficult to determine. The woman was emotional. The fervor of her spirit overcame her judgment, and she is to be classed with that interesting group of unique characters whose sensational rise is only equalled by their collapse.

November 6, 1763, she wrote from White Oak Land in Lancaster county to Elder Alexander Mack, in which letter occur such statements as the following:



"The winter of persecution is here. Contempt and persecution are strong. I set my trust on the dear Savior." "I am not only persecuted and hated by the world, but also by those that call themselves believers. They say that what has been done by me is idolatrous. They blaspheme whereof they know not."

"Dear Brother Sander, thou hast written me that the heaviest will weigh less than nothing in the end. I am imperfect. May the Lord give his good spirit

into my heart that when I am weighed I may have the right weight, and may be taken from this sorrowful world into eternal rest."

She signs herself, "Your humblest sister and fellow traveler, Catharine Hummer."

10. As Others See Us.

Edmund Burke, the famous English Statesman and orator, says,[1] "Pennsylvania is inhabited by upwards of 250,000 people, half of whom are Germans, Swedes and Dutch. Here you see Mennonites . . . and the Dumplers [Tunkers], a sort of German sect that live in something like a religious society, wear long beards, and a habit resembling that of friars. . . . They have schools taught, books printed, and even the common newspaper in their own language." It is evident that the learned Burke here confuses the Ephrata Society with its "habit resembling that of friars" and its "religious community" with the Tunkers, who wore no such garb and who never formed a community of goods in America.

Robert Proud, the first historian of Pennsylvania, has a fairly accurate estimate of the German Baptist Brethren in his now rare and valuable work.[2]

"Those people in Pennsylvania, called Dunkards, Tunkers, or Dumplers, are another species of German

(1) *Burke's Works*, Vol. IX, p. 345. Boston Edition of 1839. This description is dated 1755.

(2) Robert Proud's *History of Pennsylvania*, etc., written between the years 1776 and 1780, and published by Zachariah Poulson, Jr., Philadelphia, 1798. Vol. II, Pt. IV, p. 345.

Baptists. They are singular in some of their opinions and customs; and perhaps more so in their manner of living, and personal appearance, than any others of that nature in the province, particularly those who reside at a place called by them Ephrata, in Lancaster county.

"They also hold it not becoming a follower of Jesus Christ to bear arms or fight; because, say they, their true Master has forbid His disciples to resist evil; and because He also told them not to swear at all, they will by no means take an oath, but adhere close to His advice, in the affirmation of *yea* and *nay*.

"As to their origin they allow of no other, than that which was made by Jesus himself, when He was baptized by John in Jordan. They have a great esteem for the New Testament, valuing it higher than the other books; and when they are asked about the articles of their faith, they say they know of no others but what are contained in this book; and therefore can give none.

"The rise, or collection of their present society, they seem to date about the year 1705;[1] many of them were educated among the German Calvinists, but left them, and, on account of their religious way of thinking and practice, several being banished from their homes, and otherwise persecuted, they resorted to Schwarzenau, in the county of Wittgenstein, and Creyfeld in the duchy of Cleves, belonging to the King of Prussia; where they had liberty of meeting without being disturbed. To these places they collected from several parts; as from Switzerland, Straszburg, the Palatinate, Silesia, etc.

(1) The reference is to Schwarzenau, 1708.

"They agreed on their exterior form of religion at Schwarzenau aforesaid; the manner of their baptism of immersion or plunging into water (from whence the name Dumpler, in their language) instead of the vulgar method of sprinkling, was established among them; as being not only more consistent with that which Christ himself suffered from John the Baptist, but also more agreeable to the practice of many of the primitive Christians.

"They hold what is called the Eucharist, in commemoration of the sufferings of Christ, at night, as they say, Christ himself kept it; washing at the same time one another's feet, agreeable to his example and command. They meet together to worship on the first day of the week, in confidence of His promise, who said, 'Where two or three are gathered together, in my name, there am I in the midst of them,' but those at Ephrata keep the seventh day of the week, for Sabbath; they profess a spiritual worship, and they have been remarkable, at the place last mentioned, for their fine singing at their devotion. They say they have suffered great persecution in Europe; of which they give particular accounts, and as appears in a manuscript, from which part of this account of them is taken."

Morgan Edwards[1] says:

It is very hard to give a true account of the principles of these Tunkers as they have not published any system or creed. . . . . .

". . They are *general baptists* in the sense which that phrase bears in Great Britain; but not Arians nor

(1) *History of the Baptists*, Vol. I. Pt. IV. p. 65.

Socinians, as most of their brethren in Holland are. General redemption they certainly hold; and, withal, general salvation; which tenets though wrong are consistent.

"They use great plainness of language and dress, like the Quakers; and like them will never swear nor fight. They will not go to law; nor take interest for the money they lend. They commonly wear their beards; and keep the first day Sabbath, except one congregation. They have the Lord's Supper with its ancient attendants of *love feast, washing feet, kiss of charity*, and *right-hand of fellowship*. They anoint the sick with oil for recovery, and use the *trine immersion*, with laying on of hands and prayer, even while the person baptized is in the water; which may easily be done as the party kneels down to be baptized, and continues in that position till both prayer and imposition of hands be performed. . . . . Every brother is allowed to stand up in the congregation to speak in a way of exhortation and expounding, and when by that means they find a man eminent for *knowledge* and *aptness* to teach, they choose him to be a minister, and ordain him with imposition of hands, attended with fasting and prayer, and giving the right hand of fellowship. They also have *deacons;* and ancient widows for *deaconesses;* and *exhorters*, who are licensed to use their gifts statedly.

"They pay not their ministers unless it be in the way of presents; though they admit their right to pay; neither do the ministers assert the right; esteeming it *more blessed to give than to receive*. Their acquaintance with the Bible is admirable. In a word they are meek

and pious Christians; and have justly acquired the character of the *Harmless Tunkers.*"

Benjamin Franklin, in his *Autobiography*, has the following good words for the Brethren, in which he commends their prudence, judgment, and modesty:

"Those embarrassments that the Quakers suffered from having established and published it as one of their principles that no kind of war was lawful and which, being once published they could not afterwards, however they might change their minds, easily get rid of, reminds me of, what I think, a more prudent conduct in another sect among us, that of the Dunkers. I was acquainted with one of its founders, Michael Wohlfahrt.(1) Soon after it appeared he complained to me that they were grievously calumniated by the zealots of other persuasions, and charged with abominable principles and practices, to which they were utter strangers. I told him this had always been the case with new sects, and that, to put a stop to such abuse, I imagined it might be well to publish the articles of their belief, and the rules of their discipline. He said it had been proposed among them, but not agreed to, for this reason: 'When we were first drawn together as a society,' said he, 'it had pleased God to enlighten our minds so far as to see that some doctrines, which were esteemed truths, were errors, and that others which we had esteemed errors, were real truths. From time to time he has been pleased to afford us further light, and our principles have been improving and our errors diminishing.

(1) This Michael Wohlfahrt was an earnest follower of Beissel, and the remarks here made are largely descriptive of the Beissel society.

Now we are not sure that we have arrived at the end of this progression and at the perfection of spiritual or theological knowledge, and we fear that if we should once print our confession of faith, we should feel ourselves, as if bound and confined by it, and perhaps be unwilling to receive further improvement, and our successors still more so, as conceiving, what their elders and founders had done, to be something sacred—never to be departed from.'

"This modesty in a sect is perhaps a single instance in the history of mankind. Every other sect, supposing itself in possession of all truth and that those who differ are so far in the wrong, like a man traveling in foggy weather, those at some distance before him on the road he sees wrapped up in the fog, as well as those behind him, and also the people in the fields on each side, but near him all appears clear, though in truth he is as much in the fog as any of them."

11. Influence of Emigration.

The French and Indian War made the English supreme over North America. The Revolutionary War drove out the French conquerors and left the colonies free and independent. At once the long stemmed tide of emigration over the Allegheny Mountains set in. First the hardy pioneer; then the invading army that drove the Indian to the West and North; then the agriculturist, whose coming marked the beginning of permanent occupation. The sturdy Germans were among the first to press to the Ohio and the Mississippi Valleys.

Among these pioneer farmers were many members of the German Baptist Brethren church. They carried their principles with them, and from 1790 to 1825 the great central plain was rapidly populated by the Brethren. They were so numerous by 1822 that Annual Meeting was for the first time held west of the Atlantic slope. This migration was, no doubt, remunerative to the individual members who formed the procession. But it was by no means a clear gain to the church. In a few years her borders were enlarged to almost ten times her former limits. In the old limits the membership was practically compact. The great annual assemblies moved from Virginia to Pennsylvania and back again, over a clearly defined route. The members were personally in close touch one with another. Their interests were largely the same. Their environment was the same. They lived in daily contact with other sects whose religious principles were in many respects similar to their own. There was a compactness, and hence a strength, in the colonial churches, due to the above conditions, that made the Brethren a power in the religious life of the times.

All this changed by this exodus to the west. Many of the frontier members were isolated. Some had no Christian companionship, no house of worship, no spiritual ministrations. They grew cold and indifferent and dropped out of the church,—they and their children. Others by heroic efforts carried the Gospel

to their neighbors and succeeded in winning new families to the Brotherhood. The losses and the gains may be said to balance each other, and there was no numerical gain to the church.

Many new families came as did the Brethren, and were isolated. They joined the Brotherhood because they needed spiritual fellowship. They gave to the church some of its noblest and its grandest leaders. But these had in many cases grown up in an environment unlike that of the Brethren. They came to the church with new ideals and new interpretations of doctrine. The whole fabric of doctrine so carefully wrought by the colonial churches was put to the test by these newer influences. The doctrines of the church were on trial. The church found itself expanded and hence locally weakened. In this condition it was forced to meet issues that tried its fundamental doctrines. It is remarkable that the church survived this epoch. It can be attributed to no human agency. God held His own in the hour of trial. The church triumphed, and slowly over valley and plain the religion of Christ planted itself securely and triumphantly.

But new problems now faced the church. Missionaries were urgently needed. Outposts were in need of ministerial visitation. Multitudinous occupations found representation in church membership. The new conditions demanded new avenues of activity. The work of Annual Meeting was greatly enlarged. The personal bond could no longer hold the members

together. The need of newspapers, and other denominational communications was felt. The conservative east met the enterprising west. The former was obliged gradually to yield. The latter, too, conceded much. A middle ground of church polity was enacted. But the church in all this was giving up and taking up. To her credit it is to be recorded that she never gave up any of her fundamental principles, and never took up any unscriptural ones. Here and there specific cases of congregational irregularities were inevitable. These were corrected by committees from Annual Meeting and in this way unity and harmony were preserved.

The rapid growth of cities introduced a new element. The early church was largely made up of agriculturists. But the rise of industries about 1830, and the rapid growth of cities, drew many of the younger members to industrial centers. The church was obliged to follow these members to the city or lose them. The city conditions were so unlike those the church had so long known that time and experiment were necessary to find the right basis for instituting and maintaining city churches. This problem is not yet wholly solved. But the growth of the church in the future must be in urban as well as in rural districts. The proportion of urban over rural life is steadily and rapidly increasing. No church can grow under these conditions unless it plants itself in the centers of life. The city is the future field of increase.

The church must retain its hold upon rural territory. It needs and must have the sturdy, honest, devout membership that strengthens and matures with sun and soil. But it must also carry the saving Gospel of the Savior of the world to the great and growing city life of the nation. There must be no shirking, no evading, no neglecting of this inevitable condition if the church is to represent fully and truly the purpose and mission of its being.

One additional lesson is plainly taught by this extension of the church territory. The number of members per square mile is growing less. The rush to what some well-paid agent represents as more favored territory has greatly complexed the work of the church. It is a serious menace now to its usefulness. Home traditions, ancestral graves, good schools, and convenient churches are abandoned. The family pushes to the new territory. The loss is great. The compensating gain in larger acreage and larger yield of products will scarcely compensate for the surrenders made. The individual in many cases is sadly disappointed. In some cases members are scarcely satisfied. Others, no doubt, content themselves with the material results of the new conditions. But, on the whole, the advantage is by no means apparent. For the church, the loss is manifest. New congregations, small in numbers, and financially limited as yet, call for assistance, and the older and more stable congregations are obliged to send more help to these

than would have been necessary to aid the same members to comfort and prosperity in the home congregations.

The early members were mutually helpful, and no one was required to move because of poverty. The teaching of the early churches made it a willing duty to labor to retain in compact centers the membership. Unless a strong central power is maintained expansion becomes weakness. The church to-day needs the spirit of coöperative helpfulness and not the spirit of isolation. It is the lesson of history.

12. Some Pioneer Events.

The first movement of members to the middle west was from the Carolinas. Kentucky was the earliest home of the church in the Ohio Valley. Elder Casper Rolland[1] was, perhaps, the first minister to settle in the State of Kentucky. He was soon followed by Elder John Hendricks, also of North Carolina.

About 1787 Elder George Wolfe removed from Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, to Fayette County. There was a settlement of the Brethren in Fayette County immediately after the Revolutionary War. This body of emigrants forced an open gateway to the west over the route formerly taken by Braddock's army, a route that later became known as the "Old

(1) Elder Rolland was ordained April 1, 1800, in South Carolina by David Martain. David Martain was ordained by Daniel Letterman, who in turn was ordained by the founder of the church, Alexander Mack.

Pike," or Great National Road, the first highway constructed into the Ohio Valley by the government.[1]

Elder Wolfe, in 1800, settled in Kentucky; and nine years later, he traveled on a missionary tour through Missouri and Southern Illinois. On his return he died and was buried at Kaskaskia. He is believed to be the first Elder to die in what is now Illinois. Elder Wolfe had two sons, Jacob, the father of Elder George Wolfe, and George (born April 25, 1780—died November 16, 1865) who was ordained as elder in 1813 by elders Hochstettler and Halm of Kentucky.

This George Wolfe was baptized in 1812 by Elder John Hendricks. With him were baptized fourteen others, members of a Bible-class taught by him. This is, doubtless, the first baptism in the territory now embraced in Illinois. He was called to the ministry the same year. October 17, 1818, Elder Wolfe ordained John Hendrick's son, James, to the eldership. This was done in Cape Girardeau County, Missouri, and is the first ordination that occurred in that territory. Missouri did not become a state until three years later.

Elder Wolfe was an eloquent and forceful speaker. In a debate at Kaskaskia with a Catholic priest he won a signal triumph. The governor of the state attended and declared that "Elder Wolfe is the most profound man for an illiterate man, I ever heard." He died in

(1) See *Stories of Pennsylvania*, p. 254.

1865, and is buried near Liberty, Adams County, Illinois.[2]

13. Far Western Brethren.

Brother Wolfe belonged to what were known as the "Far Western Brethren." They washed feet after supper, and before the communion. The sisters broke the bread and passed the cup of communion the same as the brethren. They omitted the reading of a chapter between the supper and the communion, and passed the salutation after the communion as a farewell token of love. They also practiced the single mode of feet-washing.

A committee met in 1820 at Benjamin Coffman's in Muhlenberg County, Kentucky, to reconcile the differences that grew from the expansion of the church, as heretofore related. The committee did not succeed. A second one met soon thereafter, at Elder Hochstettler's, in Shelby County, Kentucky. This is the beginning of a long series of agitations against the double mode of feet washing, an agitation that has not even yet wholly died away; but which had a partial quietus placed upon it by the Annual Meeting of 1879.

The effect of these conflicting views on the mode of observing the ordinances was that many members in the West, notably in Kentucky, were cut off. Brother A. H. Cassel estimates the loss in Kentucky alone at

(2) For an admirable sketch of Elder Wolfe, see an article by Elder J. H. Moore in *Brethren's Family Almanac* for 1893.

fifteen hundred. This estimate is, perhaps, too large. These disowned members soon spread to the frontier and builded churches. Efforts at reconciliation began as early as 1750, and in 1855 a committee of eleven elders met these "Far Western Brethren" and effected a compromise, by which mutual forbearance in the spirit of love was advised. In 1859 a complete reconciliation was had. But the mode of feet-washing was left optional to each congregation.[1]

14. Christopher Sower on Going to Law.

No man ever appealed to Elder Sower in vain. Once a man from a distance came to Sower in great distress, and begged him to loan him a sum of money. This Elder Sower gladly did. In the near future this man by chance attended divine service and heard Elder Sower preach. His theme was non-resistance, and he dwelt upon the evils of going to law.

The man took advantage of the sermon to benefit himself. He called on Elder Sower and said, "Mr. Sower I heard you preach that if any man should take that is thine, ask it not again. Is that your sentiment?" "Yes;" was the answer, "that is not only my sentiment but it is the Divine injunction of our Lord, as you will find recorded in his blessed Word." "Then I tell you," said the man, "that I owe you that money yet and unless you sue me for it, I shall never pay it."

(1) See *Classified Minutes*, p. 311.

"I am sorry," said the pious old elder, "but if you say so, I cannot help it. Sue you I will not. If you have made up your mind not to pay me unless I sue you, I will cancel the account now."

"Well, I shall not pay you."

The man went his way and Elder Sower cancelled the account.

Years went by. One morning the man rode to the door of Sower's house, dismounted, and entered. "Good morning, Mr. Sower," said the man, "I have brought you your money."

"My money! Why I thought you resolved not to pay me unless I sued you!"

"I did so resolve, but that money has been a constant source of trouble to me. I cannot rest till the debt is paid."

"But," said Elder Sower, "I cancelled the account, forgave you the obligation, and have therefore no right to take it of you now."

The man insisted upon paying the debt, counted the amount with interest, and laid it down upon the desk in Sower's office. Sower now saw that the man was really penitent and anxious to honor the religicus principle of non-resistance and so advised the man to take the money and give it to certain poor people whom he named.

15. On War.

The Church of the Brethren never sanctioned, never encouraged, never participated in war. Peace as a

fundamental principle was and always has been honored by the members. Every war that has swept the country was steadfastly opposed by the church. The Revolutionary War was a severe test. Many of the members were anxious to see the new government prosper and succeed. But they could not, they did not fight. We have seen how Elder Sower was persecuted and robbed for conscience' sake. In his own defense Elder Sower appeared at the Annual Meeting of 1780, held in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, and asked guidance and vindication from his own Christian associates. The minutes of this meeting have not been found; but it is safe to say that he was cordially received, his requests granted, and his fellowship and eldership honored. This is apparent from the fact that in the same year, and no doubt by direction of this Annual Meeting, he and Elder Martin Urner visited the churches of Eastern Pennsylvania and ordained a number of elders. Reference to this tour has already been made in a previous chapter to which the reader is referred.

The queries he submitted at this meeting are as follows:[1]

QUERY I. As there are yet debts due me on bonds, notes, and book debts, who has the best right to demand them of the people I or the state?

QUERY II. If a man is openly declared a traitor with-

(1) Original queries in Elder Sower's handwriting are now in my possession.

out a cause, without having a trial, when he was not absent and might have been heard, is it just to let him forever lie under that reproach?

QUERY III. Is it right that Col. Smith be permitted to carry on a law-suit against my son Daniel and to pocket £50 hard money to himself when he has paid the state (if ever he has) with a trifle of Continental [money]?

In the Cassel collection was found a decision of the Annual Meeting concerning the War of 1812, a decision which has not heretofore been published. It will be found in its proper place in the chapter on Annual Meeting. The action of the church on subsequent wars is well known. It is somewhat remarkable that the late Spanish-American War should have passed and the church failed to record its time-honored and Bible-sanctioned opposition to war.

16. On Changes in the Ordinances.

Since this topic had so much to do with the growth of Annual Meeting's power in the church, and since it has been a question that apparently will not down, it may not be inapt to note that the double mode has no warrant in the practice of the early church.

When the Ephrata Society, under the lead of Conrad Beissel, withdrew from the Brotherhood formally in December, 1728, the Ephrata Society was no longer a part of the Brotherhood. It was, however, in close touch geographically with the early congregations

and held all the ordinances of the Brethren sacred, and observed them in some way or other. As soon as Beissel had warrant of free action he began, gradually, to modify the mode of administering the ordinances. The love feast was held at any irregular time, was held privately, and was attended only by such members of his community as were specially invited. In 1753, George Ross, one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and Israel Acrelius, missionary to the Swedes on the Delaware, visited Ephrata. The account of this by Acrelius follows:

"Mr. Ross returned home and left me alone. A knot of brethren to the number of ten, met in Müller's[1] white and clean anteroom—I cannot say whether to visit me or to show their respect for Müller. At six o'clock they broke up and went to the sisters' convent one by one, after each other, up the hill. I asked what it meant? Müller answered that they were going to a love feast among the sisters. I said, 'Come, I will go along.' Müller declined, as he had not been invited, and also said, 'I knew nothing of that meeting until they assembled here.'"[2]

Again he says, "Sometimes the invitations are so secret that the others know nothing about it until the

(1) This Müller was the famous Peter Miller, Brother Jabez, successor of Beissel as the head of the Society, and at this time a minister, second only to Beissel in authority.

(2) Acrelius' *History of New Sweden*, p. 381.

meal is prepared. No one goes to a love feast without an invitation."[1]

It will be easy to see how utterly this mode of procedure departed from the practice of the Brethren. Imagine a love feast in a congregation and all the ministers not present, not even invited!

Beissel also changed the mode of administering the holy communion. Beissel stood at the altar, at one end of the room in the "Saal," or meetinghouse, and one after another of the members walked forward and received from him the sacrament in bread and wine. This was followed with feet-washing afterwards.

By this violent transfer of privilege from people to pastor the Ephrata Society were reduced to the position of subordinates, and the preacher became a full-fledged ecclesiastic. The early practice of the Brethren was in this as in all things democratic. There was no unnecessary usurpation of priestly prerogatives. The Lord's Supper was a meal in common. Every member was equally honored; so it was with the communion.

We have already noted how Elder George Adam Martin in 1762 went over to the Ephrata Society. With him went part of the Bermudian congregation. To these he was called as elder or leader, assuming some such relation as that of Beissel over the Ephrata congregation. Beissel went to the Ber-

(1) Acrelius' *History of New Sweden*, p. 377.

mudian country and a love feast was held. The account of this love feast follows: "When it was resolved to hold a bread-breaking and a priest was required for it, his [Beissel's] humility taught him to make room for Brother G. A. [*i. e.*, George Adam Martin], who, in consequence presided, though their love feasts were still held in Corinthian fashion, and not in the manner in which they were held at Ephrata. Soon after another breaking of bread was held, the administration of which they conferred on the Superintendent [Beissel], which he promised to undertake on condition that they would permit him to break in the manner in which he had been taught. To do this they would not agree.

* * *

"The reason why the Superintendent took offense at their way of breaking bread was because they were of opinion that all must be equals; and, therefore, they did not wish to allow any prerogative or privilege to any one person among them,"(1)

Here then is Beissel up in arms against the "Corinthian fashion," which fashion the Bermudian members had learned from the church of the Brethren, and up in arms against the practice of George Adam Martin, who was taught of Martin Urner, Peter Becker and Alexander Mack. And what was the "Corinthian fashion?" It was that in the communion *all must be equals.* This then was the custom of the early

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 260, 261.

Brethren. The members broke bread and gave the cup to one another, and so throughout the entire communing number, male and female. The only other known way was Beissel's, in which the elder broke bread at the altar for each one, male and female. Enough has been recorded to show that at the beginning, and at least for fifty-four years, in the early church the sisters were treated exactly like the brethren, and each one passed the cup and broke the communion bread. The custom now in vogue of having the sisters receive the emblems from the elder's hand is, therefore, an innovation, and not the mode of the early church.

If then Beissel was free to modify the love feast, and the communion he would likely also assume to himself the prerogatives of an innovator in other ways. So it was with feet-washing. When in 1762, the same George Adam Martin above referred to and John Horn paid a visit to Ephrata, they were received by Conrad Beissel in his own home and made welcome. What followed one may read in Martin's own words:

"While conversing animatedly a sister entered, brought a tub of water and an apron, put them down and silently left; who she was, or who had ordered her to do so, I do not know even to this very hour. The old Father [Beissel] rose and said, 'Come, brethren, sit down here, I will wash your feet.' So he washed our feet, and Brother Nägele dried them for

us. Then I said: 'You have washed our feet, now let us also wash yours,' to which they consented; so I washed their feet and Brother Horn dried them."(1)

Here then is the record of the double mode at Ephrata. But the Brethren from the beginning practiced the single mode and earnestly protested against any effort to introduce the mode of the Ephrata mystics. Strange, indeed, it is that a practice born in an outside and antagonistic community should have entered the church and for the space of a hundred years given cause for legislation and in some cases expulsion.(2)

It will be noted that the "Far Western Brethren," especially Elder George Wolfe, stood for the single mode; Elder Wolfe's father, also an elder, was born and reared in the Lancaster county churches. He knew the practice of the members in Eastern Pennsylvania outside of Ephrata. It will be recalled, too, that the settlement under the Eckerlins on New River in Virginia, was an offshoot of Ephrata. Perhaps this settlement is partly responsible for the double mode in feet-washing, and for the anomalous combination of Bible and Beissel practice in passing the bread and wine at the communion.

Abraham H. Cassel asserts that the double mode

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 253.

(2) This expulsion is asserted on the authority of Abraham H. Cassel, and founded on the "Far Western Brethren" controversies.

in feet-washing had its origin in the Coventry congregation, under the direction of Martin Urner. This is supported by the acquiescence of George Adam Martin to this mode in 1762, as above recited. Martin was a minister under Urner at Coventry. This innovation occurred before Annual Meeting assumed disciplining functions. Hence the practice of the congregation was not subject to revision. The Germantown brethren protested and admonished, but had no power to act against the new mode. Hence it remained and was taken up by the Conestoga congregation. These two, Coventry and Conestoga, were the great feeders of emigration, and in this way the double mode no doubt was largely spread and practiced.

The second Alexander Mack was always in favor of the single mode, and never allowed any other practice in the Germantown church. On his deathbed he charged his successors to adhere to the single mode. Elder John Fox in 1871 said, "I am now eighty-five years old and feel that my days are few. I have been a member of the Brethren church at Germantown and Philadelphia for fifty-nine years. My parents were members of the mother church in Germantown. I remember well, when but a boy, of being led by the hand of my father and mother to the love feast and communion at Germantown. I very distinctly recollect seeing Brother Peter Keyser wash and wipe my grandfather, Alexander Mack's feet

and Brother Alexander Mack would wash and wipe Brother Keyser's feet. I remember this well for I was eighteen years old when my grandfather died. And that has been the custom down to the present day in the church at Germantown, and who can doubt that my grandfather, Alexander Mack, who was the presiding elder at the time, received it direct from his father who was the first elder the German Baptist church had."(1)

The written statements of Susanna Douglass, Peter Keyser, John W. Price, Abram Harley, Elizabeth Hagy and Abraham H. Cassel are among those whose testimony upon this point conclusively establishes the fact that the single mode was the original mode with the Brethren.

17. The Dress Question.

At the founding of the church dress was not a factor in its administrative or professed activity. The early church was persecuted and meetings were often held in secret. It is evident that under such conditions no distinctive garb was worn. In fact safety and protection lay in avoiding any mark by dress or otherwise that would call down upon the worshiper the strong arm of persecution.

There is every reason, however, to believe that the early members dressed plainly and modestly, though not distinctively, as an economic measure and as an

(1) Original letter in the Cassel collection.

expression of their faith that religion was against vain show.

There is no record to indicate that any distinctive dress was worn by the first comers to America. But here in Pennsylvania the Quaker hat and bonnet became the symbol of non-resisting people. Those who sided with the proprietary and against the council naturally adopted the dress of the Quakers, whence arose the head dress of the members. This gradual adoption of a distinctive garb was, of course, sanctioned by the membership generally as being in harmony with the principles of the Gospel. So far as investigation shows the first agitation of the dress question at Annual Meeting did not occur until the closing decade of the Eighteenth Century.

Before the Revolutionary War the notorious hoop-skirt was adopted by society women in Philadelphia. Against this vulgarism the whole spirit of the church was set. Christopher Sower, in his newspaper, denounces it vehemently. The women of the church did not adopt the new fashion. They became, for that reason, distinctive in their dress. In this they were followed by the Mennonites, and other plain people, as well as by the more devout Quakers.

One more influence here deserves record. Multi-colored fabrics were imported prior to the Revolutionary War by the English merchants. When the colonies resisted English tyranny they agreed also voluntarily, to give up the wearing of imported fabrics

and began to weave and wear homespun. The Germans had never been heavy buyers of English manufactured dress goods. Each family wove its own fabrics, and so, goods of one color, became the badge of loyalty to the new government. The German thus found his custom or style the popular one. His plain dress was his honored badge. But, as is often the case, when war was over and industry revived, the mass of the people, especially those active in the war, reverted to stylish dress. In this the plain people of God found added reason for retaining simplicity. Why should they follow the example in dress of the people whose example in war they did not follow?

To prevent acceptance of the victors' innovations the church began to agitate order in dress, and hence at the close of the century the differentiation between the two elements in the population was complete. The non-resisting people were the non-conforming people.

From the beginning the Brethren wore full beards,—no razor was allowed to touch their faces. Men in public life had cleanly shaven faces. It is interesting to note that every signer of the Declaration of Independence was smooth-shaven. The indignity heaped upon Elder Sower was twofold. When his beard was removed his religion was ridiculed and his face was made to appear like that of his oppressors.

There is no record of dress as a test of membership in the church until quite recently.

18. The Mode of Baptism.

From the first trine immersion for adults only was held to be baptism by the Brethren. The mode of administering the rite may not be uninteresting, Israel Acrelius, Provost of the Swedish Churches in America and Rector of Old Swedes' Church, Wilmington, Del., in his report[1] of the religious work among the Swedes in America gives us an accurate description of the mode of baptism in the following:

"They [Dunkers] seldom receive any others than those who have been already baptized, and who thus have some knowledge of Christianity; but if they have been brought up in our society we first instruct[2] them. When they come to the water the minister there puts to them the necessary questions, which are to be answered [the confession of faith was made standing, not kneeling]. Then the person falls down upon his knees in the water, places both his opened hands before his mouth, with the ends of his fingers turned towards his nose, so as to keep his nostrils closed, and the same with his mouth. The minister then lays his right hand [Does he mean left hand?] crosswise over the other's hands and presses them closely together, holding his left hand [Does he mean right hand?] behind his neck, and thus plunges the person."

---

(1) *Description of the Former and Present Condition of the Swedish Churches in what was called New Sweden now Pennsylvania*, etc., Stockholm, Printed by Harberg and Hasselberg, 1759. p. 394.

(2) Do we now *instruct* our children as carefully and as minutely upon the ordinances as our fathers did?

This is done three times, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

19. Baptism in a Tub.

In 1728, word was received by Conrad Beissel to hasten to the house of Peter Beller. When he arrived he found the daughter, a young woman, "about breathing her last, who desired baptism from him. Beissel expressed his preference for baptism in a flowing stream, but the girl's parents objected to having her taken from the house. So she was baptized in the house in a tub. Thereupon she asked to have a meeting at her house on the next Sabbath, which the Superintendent (Beissel) granted her; but when the congregation assembled there at the appointed time, they found her lying in her coffin; so the meeting was turned into a funeral. God grant her a blessed resurrection! This so deeply moved the parents that they both had themselves also baptized."(1)

20. A Sad Separation.

Sometime in the first quarter of the present century David Sower, who seems to have been elected a minister of the congregation on the Skippack, received one Anna Johnson into the church by baptism. But in doing so he administered immersion once and that by the backward action "in the name of Jesus." He justified this by saying each one is to be baptized upon

(1) *Chronicon Ephratense*, p. 42. The mother of this young woman died in 1748.

the confession of his or her *own* faith; that this woman's faith was in the mode indicated. "I baptized her thus," said he, "upon the confession of *her* faith, not upon the *preacher's* faith." This was a new position. It raised a storm of protestation, and Elders Peter Keyser and John Price put him out of the church.

He protested against this action of the elders and adds, "Who gave them power to put us out of the church? If we had done anything contrary to the Word of God, it was their duty to bring it before meeting; and if they could have proved that we acted not in accordance with the Scriptures they might have won us over to them." From which it is seen (1) that the church adhered strictly to trine immersion; and (2) that the practice of dealing with members by the whole congregation, and not by the elders alone, was the common and accepted method of procedure in cases of discipline.

In the same letter[1] he complains that several congregations, Germantown and Coventry, held love feasts and did not invite members of other congregations, an omission that pained him much and that was in open violation of the long established custom of inviting all the congregations to the love feast of each one.

(1) Letter of David Sower to his Sister Catharine Harley, dated "Fayette Co., Pa., May 28, 1823." Original in possession of the writer.

21. The Davidische Psalterspiel.

Before 1791 the Brethren had no hymn book of their own. They used at first the *Davidische Psalterspiel*, a large, costly book of 928 double column pages, containing 1047 hymns. Many of these hymns were lengthy. The first edition appeared in Germany in 1718, and in twenty years it had reached the third edition. These books were not brought over in large numbers by the early Brethren on account of the initial cost and the heavy import duty[1] laid upon books by the English Government at the solicitation of the King's printers.

There was a great demand for music books in the growing Brotherhood. Christopher Sower was appealed to, and, aided by elders Peter Becker and Alexander Mack and others, a careful selection of the most inspiriting hymns was made and published in 1744 under the title, *Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel.* This work contained 536 hymns and made a volume of 530 pages.

The book was so much in demand that Elder Sower, son of the first publisher, issued editions in 1760, 1764 and 1777. Other editions were issued as follows:

Steiner and Cist, 1781.
Samuel Sower, 1791, 1795, 1797.
Michael Billmeyer, 1797, 1813, 1817.

(1) Christopher Sower in his newspaper of 1740 says the duty was 6d. per pound on packages of books. In addition to this the commission and consignment reached almost one hundred per cent of the value.

Schaefer and Maund, 1816.
Heinrich Ritter, 1829
George Mentz and son, 1833, and frequently thereafter until 1850.

A fire destroyed the plates, and no edition has since appeared. At least fourteen editions of this remarkable book of hymns was thus issued for the Germans of Pennsylvania. Of these thirteen are in the Cassel collection, now at Juniata College.

Thus the Brethren introduced the most important and widely used German hymn book of Colonial America.

22. Unwritten Chapters.

In the periodicals, almanacs, and volumes recently issued by the Brethren are many interesting sketches of early churches and early brethren. Some of these are quite accurate, and others are the compilations of verbal tradition and will not bear the test of historic accuracy. Not wishing to be invidious, the writer has deemed it prudent to omit all such articles and to devote the limits of this volume to unwritten and unattempted history.

There should be an article in a later publication on the growth of the publication interests of the modern church, beginning with those sterling men of God, elders Henry R. Kurtz and James Quinter.

The church has had a phenomenal growth in educational activity. From the day, now forgotten, when

the church opposed college education to the present, what a transformation!

October 14, 1861, Elder James Quinter began at New Vienna,[1] Ohio, the movement that finally culminated in the founding of the present educational institutions: Juniata College, Huntingdon, Pennsylvania; Mount Morris College, Illinois; Bridgewater College, Virginia; Lordsburg College, California; McPherson College, Kansas; and others of more recent growth at North Manchester, Indiana; Fruitdale, Alabama; and Daleville, Virginia. To them must be added the now large number of public educational institutions in which men and women of the church are engaged as teachers, principals and superintendents.

The immediate result of this educational activity is shown in the expanding mission work, home and foreign; creation of Sabbath schools; rapid increase in denominational literature of a high order; extensive travel to foreign lands, notably to Germany and Palestine by such well-known brethren as elders D. L. Miller, H. B. Brumbaugh and J. H. Moore, together with a score or more of other devoted members of the church, whose example and whose writings are transforming the church; the creation of committees on mission, tract, and publication interests, and the endowment of the same; the control by the church of her own press and productions; and many other phases

(1) For an account of this school see *Quinter's Life and Sermons*, p. 38.

of activity within the church from which the church must in the near future derive the strength and insight to press the Lord's work to glorious results.

23. On Doctrine.

From the first the German Baptist church challenged all creeds and turned triumphantly to the word of God for its faith and for its practice. Her evangelic tenets are clear and consistent. The triune God is accepted, the divinity of Jesus declared, the function of the Holy Ghost honored.

Faith, repentance and baptism are the steps to salvation. Through these and these alone is conversion possible.

Baptism is administered by trine immersion. From this mode[1] there has never been any departure. Infant baptism is regarded as unscriptural.

Feet-washing, as taught in John 13, is held to be a divine ordinance. It has always been observed in connection with the love feast or *agape*. It is not observed at any other time. The Brethren seek no apology for this ordinance. Jesus commanded it. His people obey.

The Love Feast, or Lord's Supper, as a divine ordinance, likewise is observed in connection with the Communion, never at any other time. It is a full meal, partaken by the members in the evening only.

(1) See Quinter's *Trine Immersion.*

The Holy Kiss, or Salutation, is given at the close of the Lord's Supper or love feast, and just before the Communion. It is also given at any other appropriate occasion upon the meeting or parting of those of like precious faith. In observing feet-washing, the love feast, and the salutation, the strictest propriety of the sexes is scrupulously regarded. Sisters wash one another's feet, and so also do they salute one another, and they sit together in one part of the meeting at the Lord's Supper. In like manner brethren wash only brethren's feet, salute only their own sex, and sit together at the Lord's Supper. These ordinances are observed in quiet and in humility and to the edification of the participants.

The Communion is administered after feet-washing, the Lord's Supper and the salutation, and not without these attendant ordinances. The Communion consists in the bread and wine, commemorative of the sufferings and death of the Savior, Jesus Christ. Unleavened bread and unfermented wine are the emblems. The four ordinances last named are open to all members in good standing, and to no others. The entire service is generally known as the love feast, and is held usually twice each year, although the frequency of observance is wholly at the discretion of the respective congregations.

Government is democratic in the extreme. The membership rules. The congregational activity is practically unlimited. On questions of moment the

congregation appeals for guidance to District Meetings, made up of delegates from the respective churches. The District Meetings, may, when the conditions seem to warrant, appeal to the Annual Meeting, the highest tribunal of the church. It is made up of two representative bodies; the Standing Committee, composed of one or two delegates from each District, and chosen by the District Meeting; and the delegates, chosen from each congregation. The decisions of this Meeting are final.

Elders, *ministers*, and *deacons*, elected by the church from among her members, have charge of all congregational activity. The ministry is not salaried; but poor ministers and missionaries are always cared for by the church.

Dress.—The Brethren are a plain people. They dress modestly and decently. What is more than this is held to be a violation of the plain precepts of the New Testament and at variance with the spirit of the church, as it certainly is, with the practice of the early church.

Law.—The membership, in obedience to the teachings of Jesus, avoid all legal controversies, holding that it is better to suffer than to seek vindication at the hands of the law. If, however, a member deems it a duty to appeal to the law and can give good reasons for the same, the church may grant him the authority to so appeal. Between members, however, all differences are adjusted in the congregational meetings,

called Council Meetings. The members do not swear, but affirm without raising the hand or kissing the Bible. They avoid all litigation and reluctantly act as witnesses in courts of justice, and do not sit on juries trying murderers, holding conscientious scruples against capital punishment.

Peace, as a doctrine of the church, is fundamental. The Brethren do not go to war, and have steadfastly, and amid great persecution, refused to take up arms. There is no peace society in America that more steadfastly and consistently honors the teachings of Jesus on this point than the Brethren.

Secret Societies have always been opposed by the church, and membership in them, of whatever grade or character, is absolutely forbidden. No member of an oath-bound society can become a member of the church without first severing all connection with such organizations.

Marriage is a divine ordinance and cannot be dissolved by courts of law. Hence divorce is forbidden and divorced persons are not admitted to membership until the death of the divorced wife or husband.

Anointing with oil, by the elders, is observed in obedience to James 5: 14, 15.

Aged and poor members are cared for by the Brotherhood. Members are not sent to almshouses. In many parts of the Brotherhood homes for the aged are now erected and maintained by the respective Districts.

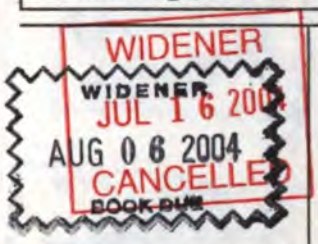
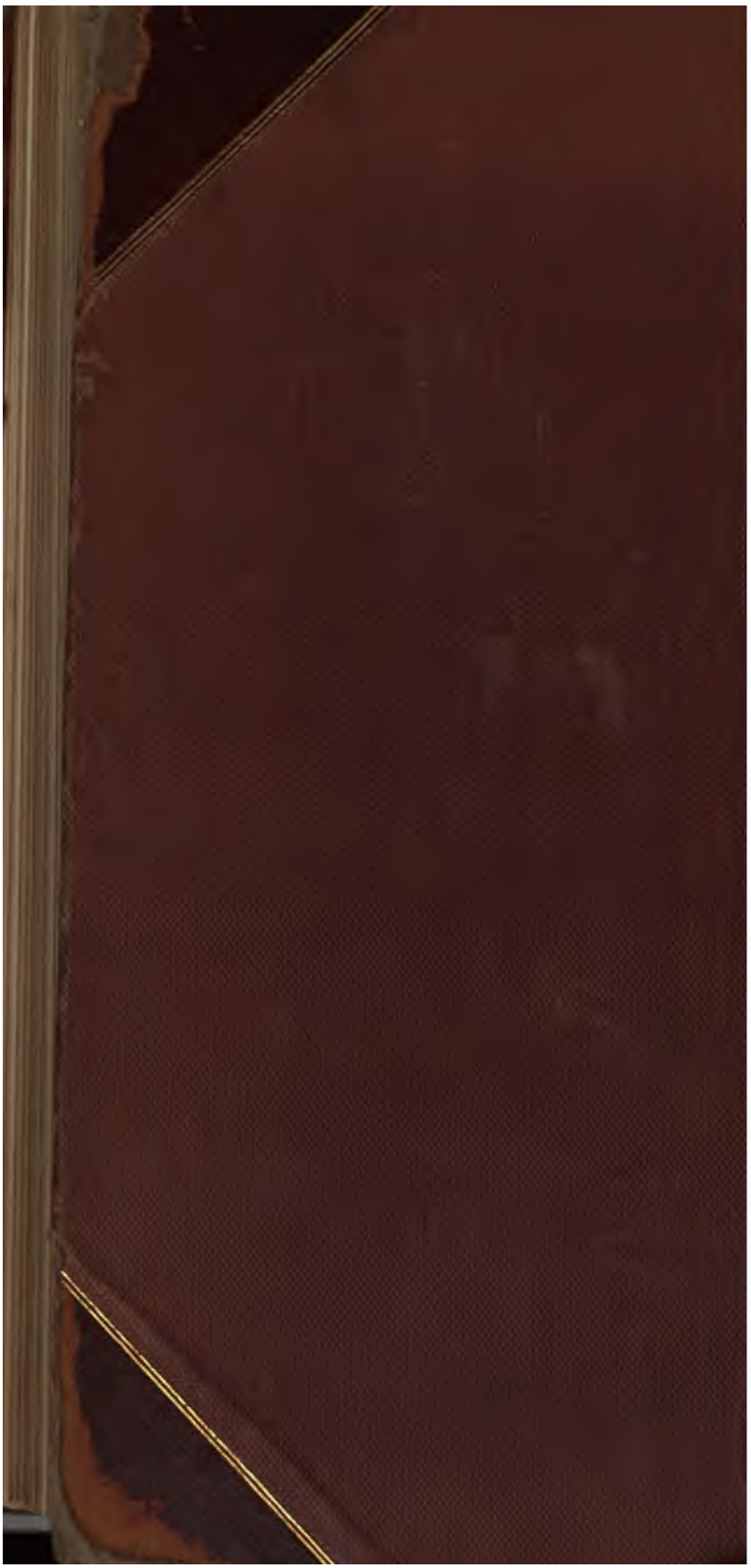
Temperance is a time-honored and Bible-sanctioned principle. The church, from its beginning has refused to allow any member to engage in the liquor traffic, to drink intoxicants, or to use tobacco. The oldest temperance society in the country is the church of the German Baptist Brethren. The membership is temperate, sober, honest and industrious. For almost two centuries it has been a proverb among the people that "the word of a Tunker is as good as his bond." They pay all their obligations promptly and do not live beyond their income.

In a word, the members are taught to obey the teachings and example of the blessed Savior in all things, and to prove by their daily walk and conversation that they live the Christ-life again in this world. May this holy ideal never be forgotten!

The borrower must return this item on or before the last date stamped below. If another user places a recall for this item, the borrower will be notified of the need for an earlier return.

Non-receipt of overdue notices does ***not*** *exempt the borrower from overdue fines.*

Harvard College Widener Library
Cambridge, MA 02138 617-495-2413



Please handle with care.
Thank you for helping to preserve library collections at Harvard.